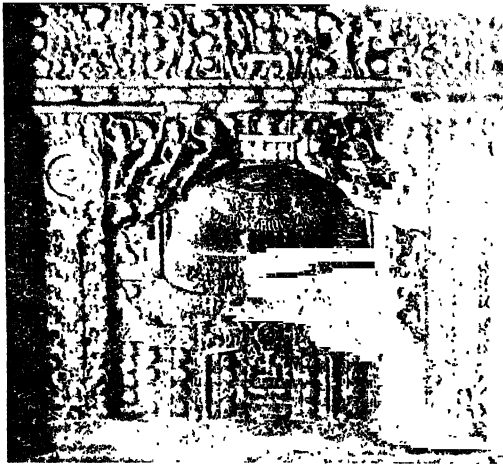


JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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(July 1933.)



Amaravati Sculpture depicting a Stupa.

1933.

RAJAHMUNDRY.

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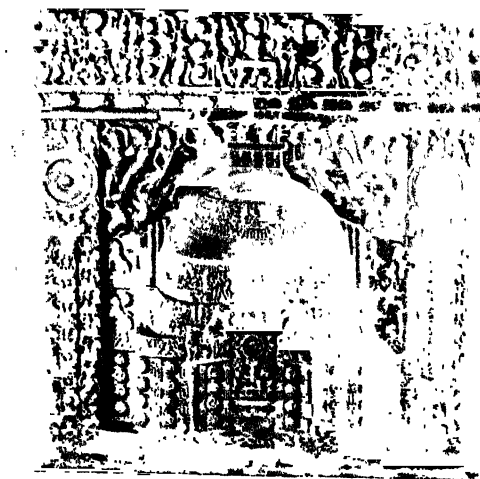
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Decennial Commemoration Volume

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NOTE.

Owing to the change of press from the Razan Electric to the **Sujanaranjani**, it is regretted that this part could not be issued in time, as the new Press had to equip itself with several new requirements.

It is earnestly hoped that the July part (Vol. IX, Part I) will be issued to the Members and Subscribers before the end of the year and they will continue to extend their patronage and thus enable the Society to carry on its useful activities

The cover and the first three formes were printed at the **Rajan Electric** and the rest at the **Sujanaranjani Printing Works**.

Members and Subscribers whose subscriptions close with this issue are requested to either remit their subscriptions for Volume IX by Money Order so as to reach the Treasurer before the end of November 1934 or intimate their desire to discontinue. If no communication is received by the aforesaid date, the July Number will be sent to them by V. P. P. which they are earnestly requested to accept, for refusal entails unnecessary expense to the Society.

It is much regretted that the several Books and Journals received for Review could not be noticed in this part as it is being issued already very late and they will be duly reviewed in the subsequent parts of the Journal.

The following articles among others are awaiting publication in Volume IX of the Journal.—

- (1) Genealogy and Chronology of the Pallavas by M. Govind Pai.
with An estimate on above by Mr. S. P. L. Narasimhaswami.
- (2) Kalinga and Andhra in Inscriptions of Haihaya Princes of Ratnapur (Mahakosala) by L. P. Pandeya Sarma.
- (3) The Dhavalapeta Copper-plate Grant of Umavarma by M. Narasimham.
- (4) A C. P. Grant of Raghunadh Jagadev II by L. H. Jaga Deb, Raja of Tekkali
- (5) Thakurdiya C. P. Grant by L. P. Pandeya Sarma.
- (6) Studies in the History of Vizianagar by V. Narasimham M. A., B. ED.
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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Volume VIII

July 1933.

Part 1.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

(From Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II)

GOVINDA PAI.

(Continued from page 158 of Volume VII, Part 3.)

The Pallava Chronology from Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II would then be as follows:—

- 1 Kalabhartri 87-107 A.C.
|
- 2 Chuta-Pallava 107-127 A.C.
|
- 3 Virakurcha 127-147 A.C.
|
- 4 Skandasishya 147-167 A.C.
(alias Skandavarma I)
|
- 5 Kumaravishnu 167-200 A.C.
(alias Sivaskandavarma)
|
- 6 Buddhavarma 200-228 A.C.
(alias Skandavarma II)
|
- 7 Viravarma 228-258 A.C.
|
- 8 Skandavarma III 258-296 A.C.
|

9 Simhavarma I 296-315 A.C.	10 Vishnugopa I 315-340 A.C.
11 Skandavarma IV 340-364 A.C.	12 Simhavarma II 364-389 A.C.
14 Nandivarma I 414-437 A.C.	13 Vishnugopa II 389-414 A.C.
	15 Simhavarma III 437-472 A.C.
	16 Simhavishnu 472-520 A.C.
	17 Mahendravarma I 520-555 A.C.
	18 Narasimhavarma I 555-595 A.C.
	19 Mahendravarma II 595-630 A.C.
	20 Paramesvaravarma I 630-660 A.C.
	21 Narasimhavarma II 660-685 A.C.
	22 Paramesvaravarma II 685-720 A.C.

Before we close we should like to offer these few remarks.

(1) Kalabhartri has been identified with Kanagopa, and the identification seems to be correct enough in that the Skt. words '*Kāla*' (काल) and '*Krishṇa*' (कृष्ण) alike mean 'black', the Prakrit form '*Kaṇha*' (कण्ह) or '*Kaṇṇa*' (कण्ण) of the Skt. word '*Krishṇa*' (कृष्ण) easily becomes '*Kāṇa*' (काण) in common parlance by the elongation of the initial letter in compensation for the loss of its double sound and the latter halves of these compound names '*Bhartri*' (भर्तृ) and '*Goptri*' (गोप्त्र) or *Gopa* (गोप) alike mean protector, preserver etc. and are thus more or less synonymous. The Skt. form of *Kanagopa* (काणगोप) therefore would be *Kṛishṇagopa* [कृष्णगोप] and we know that an exactly synonymous name Vishnugopa was borne by two Pallava kings, viz. Vishnugopa I and Vishnugopa II.

(2) From the way in which the donor Yuva-maharaja Vishnugopa I speaks of himself in his Uruvapalli grant⁷⁵ with reference to his ancestor Bappa, it is evident that Bappa could neither be the father nor the grand-father of the earliest person Skandavarma II mentioned in the said grant, but must be some remoter ancestor, whose degree up from that Skandavarma II was perhaps not known to the donor Vishnugopa I. This is further proved by the fact that in his Hirahadagalli plates⁷⁶ the donor Sivaskandavarma *alias* Kumaravishnu, who is by the way the father of the earliest person Skandavarma II mentioned in the Uruvapalli plates, does not refer to any immediate relationship between himself and

75. I. A. (V. P. 50) 'बप्पभट्टारकमहाराज पादभक्त्य... श्रीविष्णुगोपवर्मणः'

76. E. I. (I. pp. 2-10)

Bappa, while he speaks of that Bappa as the great king that gave away many crores of gold pieces and a hundred-thousand ox-ploughs. Since, thus the name of Bappa seems to have been singled out for a very respectful mention in both of these cases, I believe that he was more or less looked upon as the progenitor of the Pallava dynasty even from before the time of Kumaravishnu. Rev. Heras' identification⁷⁷ therefore of Bappa with Kalabhartri seems to be correct.

(3) The name 'Chūta-Pallava' (चूतपल्लव), as it is given in the Vayalur and the Velurpalaiyam inscriptions, means a 'Mango-Pallava' (or a 'mango-sprout' if both the component parts are taken as common nouns), and as such it cannot be said to be the original or correct form of the personal name of that king, or of any king for that matter. The latter part however seems to be a dynastic name and there can be no doubt about it. The fact that this latter part is found in tact in the king's name whereas the former part is found in the incongruous form 'Chūta' (चूत = mango), tends to the conclusion that it must have been such a peculiar or rare word that when some 600 years later than the time of the royal bearer of that name the Vayalur and the Velurpalaiyam inscriptions came to be composed, either because the meaning or significance of that word could not be made out by the respective authors of those inscriptions, or because it struck them as queer or absurd, they must have altered it (or sanskritized it so to say) giving it such a new form as was closest allied to it in sound though the new modification may have nothing to do with it in sense. What then could be the original word that must have been thus changed into 'Chūta' (चूत)? I think it is 'Chuṭu' (चुटु) or 'Chuṭa' (चुट); and I believe the whole name 'Chuṭa-Pallava' (चुटपल्लव) is a compound word made up of two dynastic names Chuṭa and Pallava, of which, as the latter component 'Pallava' is obviously a patronymic, the former is in all probability a metronymic. In that case it would evidently indicate his descent from a Pallava father and a Chuṭa (चुट) or a Chuṭu (चुटु) mother. Now there was a well-known dynasty of kings known as the 'Chuṭu-kula' (चुटुकुल), which ruled over the Banavasi country, extending perhaps as far as Chandravalli in Chitaldurg⁷⁸ and originally known as Nagakhanda or Nagarakhanda, until the Kadamba king Mayurasarma conquered and drove them out of Banavasi and established his capital there. The fact that this Pallava king Chuṭa-Pallava preferred to call himself by the name also of his mother's family rather than by his own proper name or that of only his father's family

77. H. P. G. (Notes pp. 13—14)

78. Where a coin of Chutukadananda has been dug up (M. A. R. 1909, p. 30), and a lithic inscription of Mayurasarma has been discovered (M. A. R. 1929, p. 50 ff.)

sufficiently proves that in his time the Pallavas must have regarded it a rare honour to have been connected with or derived from the Chutu family, wherefore the Chuta kings at that time must have been a much greater power than the Pallavas. His son Virakurcha is also said to have acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the lord of Serpents — evidently a Naga princess,⁷⁹ and she was in all probability a princess of the Chutu dynasty, as the Chutus seem also to have been known as Nagas. This statement of the Velurpalaiyam plates evidently seems to mean that after and on account of that marriage, Virakurcha became powerful enough, owing either to such a strong alliance itself or to the acquisition of some additional territory from his father-in-law, to rule as an independent king on equal terms with other kings around him; whence the natural presumption is that until then he as well as his ancestors were at most feudatory princes, or petty rulers of some tributary states. Now, as will be seen from our next article on the chronology of the early Kadambas of Banavasi, the date of the Banavasi inscription of Vinhukada (Vishnuskanda) Chutukulānanda Satakanni⁸⁰ falls very close to 200 A. C. He was the Chutu king from whom Mayurasarma conquered the Banavasi country, and he was thus perhaps the last king of that dynasty, at any rate the last Chutu king that ruled from Banavasi. The connections which Chuta-Pallava and Virakurcha had with the Chutu family must therefore be at least a century anterior to the downfall of the Chutus, in that those connections obviously point to a time when the Chutus were in the hey-day of their glory and power.

(4) Rev. Heras opines that 'the defeat of Vishnugopa at the hands of Samudragupta took place when the former was only a prince during the reign of his father Skandavarma II' (i.e. Skandavarma III in our list).⁸¹ This cannot be, for, in that case Vishnugopa would never have been called 'Vishnugopa of Kanchi' [काञ्चयेक विष्णुगोप], as in those days when the kingdoms were named after their capitals, none else than the reigning king alone would be mentioned by a '*taddhita*' [तद्धित] word like 'काञ्चयेक'; nor would his name be mentioned along with the other names of the reigning kings in Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription. Where in that case we should have had the names of Vishnugopa's father instead of that of Vishnugopa in the list of the kings overcome by Samudragupta. Nor is there any reason to believe with the same scholar that perhaps after Vishnugopa's defeat at the hands of

⁷⁹ M. E. R. 1911 (p. 58)

⁸⁰ I. A. (XIV. p. 338)

⁸¹ H.P.G. (notes p. 19)

Samudragupta, Vishnugopa was deprived of the kingdom and the son of his elder brother Simhavarma was placed on the throne;⁸² but by whom? There is no historical evidence for any such suspicion, and the descent from Vishnugopa I to Skandavarma IV i.e. from uncle to nephew, is as quite natural and as usual as that from the elder brother Simhavarma I to the younger Vishnugopa I was. Nor can we bring ourselves to believe that the defeat of the Pallava family by the Northern Indian monarch (Samudragupta) naturally weakened the royal (Pallava) power, and that seems to have been the occasion when the old enemies of the Pallavas attacked them and drove them out of the capital;⁸³ for, if such were the case, the help and the presence of Skandavarma IV, the nephew and the immediate successor of Vishnugopa I (who was the king defeated by Samudragupta) would not have been importuned to perform the installation of the Ganga king Madhava II, as has been so explicitly stated in the Penukonda plates⁸⁴ of the latter.

(5) Then there is the theory of the exile of the Pallava kings from Kanchi and the co-eval Chola interregnum, and this period is dated from about the time of Skandavarma III (i.e. Vijayaskandavarma the donor of Ongodu No. 1 plates) till about that of Simhavishnu.⁸⁵ This seems to be quite untenable. For if the Uruvapalli plates of *Yuvamaharaja* Vishnugopa were issued from his '*Sthana*' (स्थान) at Palakkada,⁸⁶ it does not mean that Palakkada was the '*sthana*' or residence of Vishnugopa's elder brother, the then reigning king Simhavarma I, but it simply means that the court of the crown-prince Vishnugopa was at Palakkada, and the right significance of the word '*sthana*' will be plain if it be compared with the much more respectable word '*adhisthana*' (अधिष्ठान) used in the Darsi plates⁸⁷ of the grandson of Virakurcha i.e. the king Kumaravishnu (as we have already seen) to indicate the then residence of that king at Dasavapura. Similarly if the Ongodu No. 1 plates⁸⁸ of Skandavarma III (i.e. the father of Vishnugopa I) were issued from his victorious camp at Tambrapa, it also means that the king had then encamped at Tambrapa and not that he 'had been driven out of the

82 Ibid p. 15

83 Ibid p. 18

84 E. I. XIV p. 335.

85 H. P. G. notes 17—20.

86 'श्री विजय पलकद स्थानान्' (I. A. V, p. 50)

87. E. I. (I. p. 397). We have this word '*Adhisthana*' used in the sense of royal residence also in Kadamba records — '*पलाशिकाधिष्ठाने*' (I. A. VI, pp.30-31);

'कूडल्लाधिष्ठाने' (M. A. R. 1925; p. 98)

88. M. E. R. 1916 (p. 118)

capital by the Cholas;⁸⁹ for the word '*vijaya*' (विजय) simply means a royal residence or a royal camp, and this word, it may also be said, is not restricted in its application, as it is also used to denote the residences or camps of royal as well as feudatory princes, as may be seen, for instance, from 'श्री विजय पलकस्थानान्' occurring in the Uruvapalli grant of the crown-prince Vishnugopa, and we know that though Kanchi was the central capital of the Pallavas, where the king usually held his court, they had also other capitals besides, such as Dasanapura, Palakkada, Tambrapa and Menmattura, whither they would, ever and anon, go for a change, just as the Kadambas of Banavasi had also their capitals at Palasika (Halsi) and Ucchasingi otherwise also called Triparvata (Ucchangi in Chitaldurg District), though their chief capital was at Banavasi, as is amply proved by the fact that the Kadamba king Harivarma made a grant in his 4th regnal year from Ucchasingi,⁹⁰ another in his 5th regnal year from his '*adhithana*' at Palasika,⁹¹ and a third in his 8th regnal year from '*Vijaya* Vajayanti'⁹² i. e. Banavasi. According to the Velurpalaiyam plates⁹³, we know, Kumaravishnu is accredited with the capture of Kanchi, and we also know that his Darsi plates were issued not from Kanchi but from his '*adhithana*' at Dasanapura: shall we then conclude that Kanchi, had been lost to the Pallavas in the reign of Kumaravishnu in the interval between his Hirahadagalli plates issued from Kanchi and his Darsi plates issued from Dasanapura? Further there is the mention of Vishnugopa I as 'काञ्च्येयक विष्णुगोप' in the Allahabad pillar inscription, which cannot mean otherwise than 'Vishnugopa (*the king*) of Kanchi' as we have already explained, and he would never have been so called in a far-off northern inscription, had he not been already well and widely known in South India as the king of Kanchi, i. e. the king whose kingdom had Kanchi for its capital and was known as such on that account. Similarly in the '*Loka-vibhaga*'⁹⁴ the contemporary Pallava king Simhavarma III (i. e. the father and predecessor of Simhavishnu) is called 'काञ्चेश सिंहवर्म' i. e. Simhavarma, the king of Kanchi, and his capital therefore could be nowhere else than at Kanchi itself. Again, we have it from the Halsi plates⁹⁵ of the Kadamba king Ravivarma that he uprooted

89. H. P. G. (notes p. 19)

90. I. A. (VI, pp. 30-31)

91. Ibid.

92. E. I. (XIV, p. 166)

93. M. E. R. 1911 (p. 58)

94. M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46)

95. I. A. (VI, p. 29)— 'उत्साद्य काञ्चीश्वर चण्डदण्डम् ।'

Chandadanda, the king of Kanchi, and we shall see in our next article on the Early Kadamba Chronology that this Chandadanda, the king of Kanchi, is the Pallava king Skandavarma IV. When thus at least these three kings Vishnugopa I, Skandavarma IV and Simhavarma III, whose reigns fall within the limits proposed to the alleged exile and interregnum, have been regularly called kings of Kanchi, the theory of the Pallava exile from Kanchi and the synchronous Chola interregnum will have to be given up as untenable.

(6) Which of the Pallavas then first took Kanchi and made it his capital? In the Velurpalaiyam plates we are told that it is Kumaravishnu who took the town of Kanchi; and his Mayidavolu plates,⁹⁶ we know, were issued from Kanchi in the 10th regnal year of his father, while he himself was a crown-prince. The natural inference is that the capture of Kanchi was achieved by the crown-prince Kumaravishnu at the command of his father Skandasishya, who was then ruling as king. But it must be remembered that the Velurpalaiyam plates are nearly 700 years later than the time of Kumaravishnu. In the same plates, moreover, it is said that Skandasishya i.e. the father of Kumaravishnu received the burden of maintaining the *Ghatika* of the Brahmanas from king Satyasena. It will be conclusively proved in our next article on the chronology of the early Kadambas that Mayurasarma, the founder of that dynasty, was a contemporary of Kumaravishnu and from the Talagunda pillar inscription,⁹⁷ we know that, desirous of studying the sacred scriptures,⁹⁸ he went in the company of his preceptor to the city of the Pallavas, who later on in the same inscription have been mentioned as the kings of Kanchi,⁹⁹ and entered all the *Ghatikas* there,¹⁰⁰ whence it is evident that already in Mayurasarma's time Kanchi was the Pallava capital and a hive of *Ghatikas*. Read in this light, the statement made in the Velurpalaiyam plates with regard to Skandasishya tends to the conclusion that it was Skandasishya who acquired the possession of the city of Kanchi and first established his capital there, and he came into that possession from king Satyasena, but whether it was by conquest or in any way else (e.g. as a dowry to his wife, if he had married Satyasena's daughter) we cannot yet decide.

It may be here objected that line 5—‘अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह वेजायिके’ of the Mayidavolu grant, translated as ‘for conferring on ourselves

96. E. I. (VI. pp. 84—89)

97. E. C. (VII, 8k. 176)

98. ‘अधिजिगांसुः प्रवचनम्’

99. ‘काश्मीनरेन्द्रेषु’

100. ‘निखिलघुटिकां विवेक्ष’

victory'¹⁰¹ would not warrant such a conclusion, as it seems to refer to a recent victory gained by the donor crown-prince Sivaskandavarma alias Kumaravishnu, which in the light of the provenance of that grant may be rightly presumed to be the conquest of Kanchi. But that translation of the line is quite incorrect, and there is no reference in it to any victory; for it simply means — 'by us now in our (glorious) year of reign, or place of residence' [अम्हे - by us; दानि - Skt. इदानीम् - now; अम्ह - our; वैजयिके - Skt. वैजयिके - in the reign or residence), and a glance at the very word '*Vaijayiki*' (loc. Sg. of the Skt. *vaijayika*) occurring in so many ancient inscriptions,¹⁰² where it can never mean nor can ever refer to any victory, will convince that it means either the regnal period if it is construed with the immediate phrases indicating the date of the grant, or it means the then residence of the king if construed independently, just as the word '*Vijaya*' (of which this form Skt. word '*Vaijayika*' and its Prakrit from '*Vejayika*' is but a variant) means the royal residence' (as we have already seen) as well as the regnal period, as will be evident from the phrases 'आत्मन, प्रवर्धमानविजयसंवत्सरे' in the Kadamba Hebbata plates¹⁰³ or 'सिंहवर्ममहाराजस्य विजयसंवत्सरे एकादशे' in the Uruvapalli plates¹⁰⁴ of Vishnugopa I, which are of very common occurrence in almost all the old inscriptions. In the Mayidavolu grant however this word '*vejayike*' cannot refer to its date of issue in that the said grant is already dated in the 10th regnal year of the then reigning king, and also there is no numeral following that word and indicating the regnal period of the donor, who moreover could have neither any separate rule nor any separate reckoning of it in his capacity as crown-prince; and thus the correct translation of the 5th line of this grant would be — 'by us now in our royal residence', and that royal residence, we know, was Kanchi.

If, then, the statements made in the Velūrpalaiyam plates with regard to Skandasishya and his son Kumaravishnu are authentic and at the same time seem to be so conflicting, they will have to be reconciled in such a way as will enable us to get at the truth lying behind the apparent paradox. One clear fact from those statements seems to be that Skandasishya's acquisition of the *Ghatika* of the Brahmanas i.e. Kanchi (as we have seen) must have preceded his son Kumaravishnu's capture of Kanchi. Evidently, therefore, Kanchi must have been *twice* captured, once by Skandasishya and again by Kumaravishnu. From the

101. H. P. G. (Notes p. 12)

102. 'स्ववैजयिके' in I. A. (VI, pp. 28, 24), E. C. (V III. Sb. 83) &c.

103. M. A. R. 1925 (p. 98)

104. I. A. (V. p. 50)

Mayidavolu grant again two facts seem to be clear, (1) Kanchi was already the Pallava capital in the 10th regnal year of Skandasishya, and (2) his son Kumaravishnu, the crown prince, could have no share in its acquisition, as there is not a word to claim it for himself in that grant of his own. If, therefore, we would not disregard the claim to the capture of Kanchi made on behalf of Kumaravishnu in the Velurpalaiyam plates, we shall have to admit that Kanchi was *twice* captured, once by Skandasishya and then by Kumaravishnu; and thence it would follow as a matter of course that it was Skandasishya who first acquired the possession of Kanchi and established his capital there.

Now from the Hirahadagalli plates¹⁰⁵ of the 8th regnal year of Sivaskandavarma *alias* Kumaravishnu we know that he performed several sacrifices including the *Asvamedha* before he had been 8 years on the throne. It goes without saying that the king engaged in the performance of the *Asvamedha* has to perform first a '*divijaya*', which is the *sine qua non* in its procedure, and in which he is required to carry on expeditions from place to place against king after king, and the expeditions which Samudragupta led about a hundred and fifty years later provide a typical example. Kumaravishnu also must have made a circuitous *divijaya* preparatory to the consummation of his *Asvamedha*. Consequently he must have been long enough absent from his capital Kanchi, when the opportunity would be readily seized by his enemies (probably the successors of Satyasena, if Kanchi had been wrested from him by Skandasishya) to besiege and take that city, which may have even fallen into their hands and remained in their possession for some time pending his return home and successful recapture of it. The interval between these two captures could not be more than 20 years at most, and it is not surprising therefore if the fact of the first capture of the city was merged into that of its next capture, and the remote successor of Kumaravishnu regarded him as the sole capturer of Kanchi, especially if we remember that he was the greatest of the Pallava kings, the founder of the Pallava empire, and the only one among them who had performed the *Asvamedha* and several other sacrifices before he had been but 8 years on the throne.

APPENDIX A.

The colophon of Sarvanandi in the copy he made of Simhasuri's *Loka-vibhaga* contains these 2 verses.¹⁰⁶

वैश्वे क्षिते रविमुते वृषभे च जीवे

राजोत्तरेषु सितपक्षमुपेत्य चन्द्रे ।

... .. ॥ १ ॥

¹⁰⁵ E. I. (I. pp. 2-10)

¹⁰⁶ M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46)

संबत्सरे तु द्वाविंशे काञ्चीशे सिंहवर्मणः।

अक्षत्यमे शकाब्दानां सि, मेतच्छतत्रयेः॥१२॥

The first gives the positions of Saturn, Jupiter and the Moon as they stood at the moment when he finished the copying work, and according to the next verse it was in the year S. S. 380 i. e. 458—459 A. C.

Now 'Vaishva' (वैश्व) is the name of the constellation of 'Uttarashadha' (उत्तराषाढा), which is the 21st constellation and is so called after its presiding deity;¹⁰⁷ it is $266^{\circ} 40''$ to 280° in the ecliptic. *Vrishabha* is the 2nd zodiacal sign of Taurus, which is 30° to 60° of the ecliptic. 'Uttara' (उत्तर) applies equally to all the three constellations, the names of which begin with that prefix;¹⁰⁸ (1) 'Uttara-Phalguni' [उत्तरफल्गुनी] (2) *Uttarashada* (उत्तराषाढा) and (3) *Uttarabhadrapada*, (उत्तरभाद्रपदा), which are respectively the 12th, 21st and 26th constellations. 'Rajottara', [राजोत्तर] is obviously, a compound word, which like similar compounds *Bhṛigu-Revati* [भृगुरेवती] which means a Friday combined with the constellation of Revati, or 'Sani-Kohini' (शनिरोहिणी), which is a Saturday under the constellation of Rohini, is expressive of the combination of any of the three constellations which are collectively called 'Uttara' and that week-day which is called so after the celestial body known as *Raja* (राज); and 'Raja' is the name of the moon¹⁰⁹ as of no other heavenly body, wherefore it would mean a *Monday* on which there was any of the three constellations known as 'Uttara'. The moon is further said to have entered the bright fortnight [सितपक्षमुपेत्य] whence it would be an early *lunar* day of the bright fortnight.

Two equivalent dates have been proposed, viz.— (1) The date proposed by Prof. Sasipala Jha of Benares¹¹⁰ is S. S. 380 *Chaitra Sukla Pratipat* (i.e. the 1st lunar day of the bright half of *Chaitra*) by Samudragupta¹¹⁴ as a necessary antecedent to his *Aśvamedha*, that

107. V. B. S. 'विश्वे'='विश्वेदेवा उत्तराषाढायाः' (X. C. VII. 5); 'वैश्वे'='उत्तराषाढायाम्' (XXIII. 8); 'वैश्वदेवते'='उत्तराषाढायाम्' (VI. 6)

108. Ibid— 'त्रीण्युत्तराणि'='उत्तरफल्गुनी उत्तराषाढोत्तरभाद्रपदाः' (X.C.VII. 6) 'त्रिषु चोत्तरेषु'='उत्तरफल्गुन्युत्तराषाढोत्तरभाद्रपदासु' (VI. 11)

109. 'राजानिशो रलकरौ च चन्द्रः' (Hemachandra's 'अभिधानचिन्तामणिः' v. 105); राजा तु पार्थिवे निशाकरे प्रभौ' (Hemachandra's 'अनेकार्थसंग्रहः' v. 292)

110. M. A. R. 1910 (p. 46)

after midnight. This is Saturday the 1st March 458 A.C. when the moon was in conjunction with *Uttarabhadra*; but this cannot be correct in that (a) Jupiter's geocentric longitude was $15^{\circ}2'$ wherefore he was in *Mesha* [मेष] i.e. Aries, (b) the tortuous interpretation of the word *Vrishabha* as meaning the constellation of *Bharani* is too inexpedient to be correct, and (c) the word '*Raja*' (in राजोत्तरेषु) has been left quite out of account as perhaps a meaningless or superfluous word. (2) The other date proposed by Dr. Fleet¹¹¹ is Monday, the 25th August 458 A.C., on which the Moon was in *Uttara Phalguni*. This too cannot be correct in that the geocentric longitude of Saturn was $262^{\circ}1'$ due to his retrograde motion, wherefore he was in the constellation of *Purvashada*, and not in that of *Uttarashada* as is clearly stated in the verse, and as the presiding deity of *Purvashadha* is the spirit of water, that constellation is named after the various names of water¹¹² and is not known as '*Vaishva*'.

The correct day therefore seems to be *Monday* the 2nd lunar day of the *Pausha* (*Pausha Sukla 2*), the 24th November 458 A. C., on which the geocentric longitude of Saturn was $267^{\circ}9'$, wherefore he was in *Uttarashadha*, that of Jupiter was $43^{\circ}7'$, wherefore he was in *Vrishabha*, and the moon was in the constellation of *Uttarashadha*.

APPENDIX B.

The story of the disastrous end of the reign of Pulikēsi II¹¹³ and the consequent abeyance of the Chalukya sovereignty at Vātāpi from about 642 A. C. to 655 A. C. is solely based upon the supposed identity of the Pulikēsi defeated by the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I with Pulikēsi II, as well as on the absence of his own records and the non-mention of his name in the one or two others issued during that interval. We have already proved that the Pulikesi overcome by Narasimhavarma I could never be Pulikēsi II.

Now the various progressive victories of Pulikesi II, which are recounted in detail in the Aihole inscription of 634 A. C., bear such a close and no less plausible resemblance to the systematic conquests made the conclusion that Pulikēsi II too must have undertaken all those expeditions and made all those conquests with a view of performing an *Aśvamēdha* exactly as Samudragupta had done would not be unjustified. But there is not a word in the Aihole inscription to say that Pulikēsi II performed *Aśvamēdha*, wherefore, if he did, it must be after 634 A.C.

111. E. I. (XIV, p. 334)

112. V. B. S.— 'तोयम्' = 'तोयं जलं पूर्वाषाढायाः' (X. C. VII, 5); 'आप्ये सलिल जापीढा' = 'आप्ये पूर्वाषाढायाम्' (IX. 33); 'जलदेवे' = 'पूर्वाषाढायाम्' (XI 59).

113. F. K. D. (pp. 358—61)

114. F. G. I. (No. 1)

In the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa issued in the reign of Pulikēśi II's son Vikramāditya I, it is said—

चालुक्यानां कृताश्वमेध राजसूय पौण्डरीक यागो यत्किञ्चित्कुल दुरितं तद्विनष्टं अवभृथ स्नानैः शुचिपावित्रीकृतं शिरश्शरीरं नृग नहुष धुन्धुमार दशरथरामदेव तत्प्रतिमानमिव धनुष्मदुत्तरापथाधिपति श्रीहर्षदेव पराजयोपलब्धोऽप्रप्रताप परमेश्वरः परम (माहेश्वरः) सत्याश्रयः श्री पुलिकेशि पृथिवीवल्लभ¹¹⁵ महाराजः ।'—

and as the conqueror of Śrī Harsha could be none else than Pulikēśi II,¹¹⁶ it follows that Pulikēśi II must have performed not only the *Aśvamēdha* but also the other sacrifices known as *Rājasthya* and *Paundrīka*

Further in the Hosūr plates¹¹⁷ of Pulikēśi II himself it is said.

चालुक्यानां समृद्धिमद्रज्य परम्परायात वंशतिलको अश्वमेधावभृतस्नान पविताकृतोत्त माङ्गः पोलकेशीत्यभिख्यात नामधेयो रणविक्रम द्वितीय नामधेयः ।' This refers to Pulikēśi II himself, who was the donor of the grant and cannot refer to his grand-father Pulikēśi I as Mr. Rice would have us believe;¹¹⁸ for in that case their mutual relationship would certainly have been mentioned clearly by the necessary word, which however is conspicuous by its absence and the intermediate name of Kīrtivarma I (the son of Pulikēśi I and the father of Pulikēśi II) would never have been omitted in the grant of his own son, as the omission would mean that Pulikēśi II was the immediate successor of Pulikēśi I, (since the subsequent adverb 'तदन्तरम्' means 'thereafter', 'thereupon', 'immediately after', 'forthwith' &c), which however, we know for certain was not the case. The next epithet of the donor which is introduced by that adverb — 'तदन्तरम्' हर्षवर्धनजित सत्याश्रयः ।'— which is by the way directly in apposition with the foregoing nominatives, and which means '(that) Satyāśraya, who was thereupon the conqueror of Harshavardhana' or in other words 'that Satyāśraya, who was *also* the conqueror of Harshavardhana', clinches the matter and conclusively proves that it is Pulikēśi II himself that is spoken of throughout in these plates. Therefore from these plates also we learn that Pulikēśi II did perform *Aśvamēdha*.

115. E. I. (XIV. pp. 149—152). These plates mention a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse that occurred on the new moon day of Pausa [पौषमासस्य अमावास्यायाः आदित्यग्रहणे] in the reign of Vikramāditya I, which corresponds to 18th January 660 A. C. on which new moon day of Pausa there was a total solar eclipse.

116. Vide Aihole inscription (v. 23)

117. E. C. (X. Gd. 48)

118. Ibid. (Int. p. XV); M. C. I. (p. 64)

The Hosūr plates further state that, at the request of his daughter, Pulikēśi II made a grant on 'महामाघ पूर्णमास्या...सोमग्रहे' i. e. on *Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāsī* (full-moon day) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Here again Mr. Rice, whether believing with Dr. Fleet that the reign of Pulikēśi II ended in disaster in about 642 A. C., or because he knew not the distinctive significance of the words *Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāsī*, has quite casually and no less injudiciously assigned the plates to about 640 A. C.,¹¹⁹ though between 12th January 632 A. C. and 31st January 641 A. C. there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Māghā*.

What then does *Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāsī* signify? It signifies that full-moon day of the month of *Māgha* of that particular year *Mahā-Māgha* of the Jovian 12-year cycle. It would be more correctly called *Mahā-Māgha Māgha-Paurṇamāsī*, which however would be readily and conveniently shortened into *Mahā Māgha Paurṇamāsī*, as has been done here, by the elision of one of the two successive words *Māgha* and this is quite inevitable in common parlance. Thus it is evident that the date of these plates is the full-moon day of *Māgha* of the *Mahā Māgha Samvatsara* of the Jovian 12-year cycle on which there was a lunar eclipse. Now these *Samvatsaras* of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter are determined by the heliacal risings of that planet, and the *Nakshatra* in which he is at the time of each of such risings,¹²⁰ and the *Mahā-Māgha* year commences when he has his heliacal rising in either of the two *nakshatras* called *Āślēṣhā* and *Māghā*,¹²¹ which respectively are 106° to 120° and 120° to 133° in the ecliptic by the system of equal spaces, or in other words when the geocentric longitude of Jupiter at the time of his heliacal rising falls within 106° and 133°. In the 45 or 46 years from 609 A. C., which, according to Dr. Fleet, is the initial year of the reign of Pulikēśi II to 654 A. C., which, as we shall see, was that of the reign of his son Vikramāditya I, there were only six lunar eclipses on the full moon day of *Māgha*, and the corresponding dates of those six eclipses, the geocentric longitudes of Jupiter on those respective dates, and the names of the Jovian *Samvatsaras* current on those occasions are as follows:—

No.	Date	Geocentric longitude of Jupiter.	Name of the Samvatsara in the Jovian 12-year cycle.
1	31 January 622	305°	Mahā Śrāvaṇa
2	21 January 623	333°	Mahā Bhādrapada

119. Ibid. 120. For detailed information vide F. G. I. (Int. p p. 161—176).

121. आश्लेषा मघाभ्यां माघः। (V. B. S. VIII, 2, Comm.)

3	12 January 632	256°	Mahā Āshāḍa
4	31 January 641	180°	Mahā Chaitra
5	22 January 650	82°	Mahā Pausha
6	12 January 651	119°	Mahā Māgha

Evidently therefore the last was the *only one* lunar eclipse that took place in the *Mahā Māgha* year in the course of those 45 or 46 years, and the correct date of the Hosūri plates therefore is 12th January 651 A. C. It therefore goes without saying that Pulikēśi II must have performed his *Aśvamedha* between 634 A. C. and 650 A. C., and he was still living and ruling in January 651 A. C. Thus then the story of the disastrous end of his reign and the consequent interregnum in the Chalukya kingdom has to be rejected as quite baseless and simply impossible. His reign was throughout glorious, and its end, crowned as it was with the celebration of the *Aśvamedha*, must have been far more glorious.

The Haiderābād grant¹²² of Pulikēśi II is said to have been made in his 3rd regnal year on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the newmoon day of the month of *Bhādrapada* in S. S. 534 expired i. e. in S. S. 535 current. Taking it to mean the *Amānta* month (i. e. the month ending with the newmoon day) of *Bhādrapada*, Dr. Fleet has come to the conclusion that the corresponding English date is the 2nd August 612 A. C.¹²³ on which day there was a total eclipse of the sun though it was *not visible in India*. This date does not seem to be correct, for the month is evidently the *Purnimānta* month (i. e. ending with the fullmoon day) of *Bhādrapada*, which however in the *Amānta* system would be the month of *Srāvṇa*; and on the newmoon day of *Amānta Srāvṇa* in S. S. 535 there was a total eclipse of the sun on the 23rd July 613 A. C. which was *visible in India*. Again a copper-plate grant from Sātāra¹²⁴ is dated the fullmoon day of *Kārttika* in the 8th year of Pulikēśi II, and the equivalent English date is in all probability the 20th October 617 A. C., on which day there was a lunar eclipse though not mentioned in the grant. Thus it is evident that Pulikēśi II ascended the throne in 610—611 A. C. Then at last we have the Gadvāl plates¹²⁵ which speak of a grant made in S. S. 506 on the fullmoon day of *Vaiśākha* in the 20th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I, whence it follows that Vikramāditya I must have succeeded his father in the latter part of 654 A. C. and Pulikēśi II therefore must have reigned from 610—611 A. C. to 654 A. C.

(To be continued.)

NEW LIGHT ON TIPU SULTAN.

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This is my second article on this novel theory regarding Tipu and it is designed to dispel the redundant doubts concomitant of any new theory and corroborate thereby, the same. The evidence put forth herein is also of a varied nature and based on monuments, historical literature and popular hearsay.

Let me first give the evidence of monuments.¹ A Muslim tomb called Babayya Durga, situated at Penukonda in Anantapur district was built by Tipu. Babayya after whom the name of the tomb goes was a Muslim saint cosmopolitan like Kabir of the North, and Sheik Mahammad of Maharastra in his religious views. He endeavoured his best for the unity of the Muslims and the Hindus and it seems he was popular with both the communities, as a consequence of which many a votary representing both the faiths pays his homage every year to that tomb. Many Hindus name their children Babayya. Further the tomb stands to one side of a large porch and in the middle of an extensive courtyard both of which are clearly Hindu in architecture. This evidently knocks the old theory that he was a fanatic, out of its bottom and shows that Tipu was a cosmopolitan in his religious views that strove his best for the reconciliation of both the recalcitrant communities as a mark of which noble view he built this tomb for that great Muslim exponent of the same. Moreover no student of Indian History will for a moment believe that he was a fanatic when he learns the existence of the Hindu architecture there: for he must have already studied about the proverbial Muslim fanatic ruler Aurangazeb who drove out of his court all the Hindu architects that were entertained by his predecessors.² Then an inscription, Urdu in original language along with two others in English and Canarese (preserved now in the rest house built before the Kannambadi dam) shows that Tipu intended to build this dam long ago and laid its foundation on such an auspicious day when the Sun, the Moon and the Stars were in good position.

1 Vide p, 198 Anantapur District Gazeteer.

2 Vide pages Nos. 472 to 474 of the Telugu journal "Bharati" of March 1931 (Vol. VII No. 3)

This, besides showing that he was a believer in the efficacy of Hindu Astrology, combining with another monument of his beneficence in the Bellary district, where he constructed a big tank, across the valley through which flowed the Narihilla river (which now irrigates 1170 acres of wet land and yields excellent fish fetching an annual fishery rent of about Rs. 600) manifests that Tipu was one of the rare Indian rulers that strove for the good life of the citizens.³ Sultanpeta⁴ (a suburb of Kodikonda, a village in the present Anantapur district) which is called so after the name of Tipu Sultan is another monumental evidence of his love for the people. It was built for attracting the people to settle there when Tipu granted the remission of land tax.

In this connection a few lines on the evidence of inscriptions throwing light on this topic will not be out of place.⁵ In speaking of the rulers, in whose reigns a prominent temple in Coimbatore District flourished and its worship did not suffer, an inscription of 1785—86 mentions the names of Tipu and his father along with those of the great Vizianagara kings, of the Nayakas of Madura and other great Hindu sovereigns. This shows that Tipu was not a destroyer of Hindu temples like Aurangzeb but at least a ruler of religious toleration if not a supporter of Hindu worship like the Hindu kings.⁶ Another Maharatta inscription of Cuddapah district confirms this view recording the continuation of the villages of Obalapeta and Koppolu to Rangacharlu and Sumati Srinivasacharlu of Thimmapuram, the descendants of whom are now said to be the pujaris of the local temples of that village.

Here a mention of numismatical evidence will find good place.⁷ Tipu followed the example of his father in not mentioning his own name on any of his coins though the initial letter of his father's name is frequently met with on gold and silver coins. But he differed from his father in mentioning the name of the mint regularly. From this we can clearly infer that he was true to his father's self denying and prudent policy (evidently not to incur the displeasure of the adherents of the old Hindu sovereigns) and that to show his paternal love to a great extent he mentioned the initial letter of his father's name. We can also understand his superior intelligence and matured reasoning power from his regular mention of the names of the mint unlike his father. Besides

3. Vide pages No. 268 and 269 of the Bellary District Gazetteer

4. Vide page 172 of the Anantapur District Gazetteer

5. Vide Inscription, recorded as 352 A. B. (second plate) of Coimbatore District, by Mr. K. Rangachari, in his 'Inscriptions of Madras Presidency,'

6. Vide Inscription recorded as 364 of Cuddapah District by the above author.

7 See pages 8 and 9 of 'The coins of Haider Ali and Tipu' by J.R. Henderson (Edition of 1921).

his super-intelligence, we can learn from these coins his pro-Hindu feelings.⁸ The Mauladi Era which he adopted from the fifth year of his reign (evident from the coins on which he changed the Hijira Era followed by his father and other Muslim rulers especially fanatical rulers like Aurangazeb) bears affinities as concluded by the expert Indian chronologist, late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, with the Hindu Era of lunar months, occurring once in three years and other essentials of it. Curiously enough it is said that Mauladi years began regularly at the same time as the Indian Luni-solar year, that is, on Chaitrasuklaprathipat चैत्रशुक्लप्रातिपत्तु and the serial numbers of Tipu's cyclic years as recorded on many coins are exactly the same as those of the South Indian Cyclic years. Therefore we cannot but conclude that Tipu's policy was greatly influenced by the Hindu Systems in existence.

Then the figures on the copper coins⁹ are not of less worth in supporting our new theory. They exhibit on the obverse the figure of an elephant, either advancing or standing with its head to right or to left of the field (in various positions) and trunk uplifted. The elephant being generally associated with loyalty appears on the Gajapathi Pagoda and has got its origin in the ancient Ganga dynasty of Mysore. The observance of this system of coinage by Tipu shows his unstinted respect for the traditions of the Mysore Kingdom, uninfluenced by any religious prejudices.

Now I shall cite the evidence of some historians about him, Meadows Taylor¹⁰ who is reputed for having pictured his writings with Hindu culture and customs, hails Tipu in his novel 'Tipu Sultan', as one of the greatest heroic rulers that India could have ever been prolific of. Though the writer, having the innate characteristic of Westerners, could not keep himself free from the sin of unnecessarily criticising the Indian Ruler, he must be given the credit of having given a graphic description of Tipu, which illustrates all traits of his character—religious, political, etc, in an excellent manner.¹¹ According to this, the frequent defeats that Tipu sustained here and there, were attributed by his military officials Kasiman and Rahim Khan to Tipu's secret performance of Hindu rites like idol-worship. From this we find also how Tipu was at heart a pro-Hindu, how tactfully he thought of reconciling the Hindus to his Muslim rule avoiding at the same time the alienation of the feelings of his

⁸ Vide page 11 of 'The coins of Haider Ali and Tipu' by J. R. Henderson (Edition of 1921.)

⁹ Ibid pp. 23—24.

¹⁰ Meadows Taylor's "Tipu Sultan", (Novel).

¹¹ Ibid.

Muslim subjects by open performance of such rites. It further leads to the conclusion that he was well aware of the truth that the stability of his rule must be broad-based on the loyalty of the people.¹² Again the fact, evident from the same source, that he disgraced a muslim official named Jemedhar who was accused with embezzlement of state finances in the presence of a Hindu official named Krishna Rao whom Tippu consulted about the punishment to be meted out to that dishonest muslim official, smacks of his intolerance of bad conduct even on the part of muslims and bears eloquent testimony to his unstinted faith in the integrity and ability of the Hindus. Then, the fact that the two officials at the helm of the state—the Finance Minister and the State Treasurer—were Hindus namely, Purniah and Krishna Rao, shows the magnitude of the confidence he reposed in the honesty of the Hindus. That, moreover, Tippu was a great statesman that strove for the unity of Muslims and Hindus is obvious to all unprejudiced eyes from the fact that he left the fort in the joint custody of Sayyad Sahib and Purniah in 1799 during his final issue with the English.¹³ Further the historical fact that Tippu introduced Republican Government formally in 1798 by the inducement of the French is confirmed by Meadows Taylor in his statement that Tippu renounced all his Royal Emblems when he announced the form of Republican Government on 26th April 1798.^{14&15} This also confirms the statement in my first article that Tippu thought of presenting in himself an ideal ruler who is not a master of the people but a servant of the God on Earth ordained for the welfare of the people.¹⁶ Mr. Taylor appreciates in conclusion the rule of Tippu as one during which the Brahmins enjoyed perfect peace and tranquility being endowed with Inam lands and Agraharams and where every one including even Hindus could procure unfettered and unstinted justice in every matter, and where commerce flourished and agriculture advanced unhampered.¹⁷ This can be confirmed by the historical fact that a large income was procured for the State Coffers every year. It is said that the assessment of 1788 was a huge amount of 22,77,899 Country Pagodas, in spite of his introduction in his realm of total prohibition which, on account of the financial reasons, is a sore problem agitating the brains of the most prominent politicians and conspicuous financiers of our present British Indian Government. This shows how peaceful and prosperous his subjects were and how vigorous and excellent his administration was.¹⁸ But it is a pity that this brilliant writer (Meadows Taylor) tries now and then to foist the charges of

12 & 13 Ibid.

14, 15 & 16 Mr. Taylor's Tippu Sultan.

17 See p. 104 of Anantapur district Gazeteer and p. 158 of Bellary district Gazeteer.

18 Mr. Taylors's Tippu Sultan.

oppressing Hindus upon such a ruler as Tippu who, according to Taylor himself, strove his utmost for the general well being and good life of all his subjects and exerted his best to bring about harmony and amity between the two warring communities. But in spite of this characteristic prejudice he could not anyhow refrain from placing before us a good number of well amplifiable facts but for which our regard for Tippu could not have been high.

Then Mr. Bowring's statement¹⁹ that, Tippu permitted one M. Lally to open a shop for vending liquors at Bangalore firmly restricting the use of it to the French soldiers in his service as an exception to his policy of total prohibition, shows that he was actuated in this policy not by orthodox muslim principles of religion but by motives of purely economic sanity and political prudence. This further bears an example to his flexible and elastic character exploding the theory that he was a too dogmatic or orthodox person. True he was dogmatic in his determination to fight with the English to the last for he rightly forecasted the doom that had to befall his kingdom.²⁰ From the same source we can learn that he condemned his muslim brother Nizam for the latter's frequent proclivities towards the English. True he was dogmatic to the very end in joining all hands against the English and unflinchingly bent upon their expulsion. But he was undoubtedly elastic and heterodox in his policy towards all others.

Colonel Miles states in his 'Tippu Sultan' that the Sultan purchased a Hindu Temple in Seringapatam from the worshippers of the image in it with their good-will, the brahmins having been allowed to take away their image and place it in the Deoreipeenth (which at present is called the Ganjam gate) and the temple was pulled down and a new Musjid named Sultan Musjidi-Ala was raised in that site as was promised by the Sultan in his boyhood to a Fakir.²¹ This distinctly confirms our view that Tippu was neither a destroyer of temples nor an idol-breaker as any other fanatic ruler was and that he was well sensible of the feeling of the Hindus even in carrying out his own religious motives. It is further said therein that he dispensed with the services of a Muhammadan Dewan named Mirsadi²² because the latter oppressed the people of Adoni, largely populated with Hindus, according to his caprice and will. From this we can know that he was in the habit of severely condemning every act of oppression of the people on the part of any of

19. *Rulers of India series*—'Tippu Sultan' by Bowring.

20. *Ibid.*

21. 'The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan (translated from an original manuscript in Persian) by Col. Miles.— pages 100 and 101 and chap XI,

22. *Ibid.* page 102, Chap XI.

his officials regardless of their being Hindus or Muslims. From the same source we can learn that Tippu imposed restrictions upon the licentiousness of Muslims²³ by compelling them not to pass in or out of the forts without due permission from the authorities in 1787. The same author tells us that the Sultan was, far from being repressive and inadaptible in his views, as essentially characteristic of the Muslim fanatics in general, very progressive and advanced in his views and introduced many innovations in various departments in different ways.²⁴ Tippu is said therein to have conferred honours on all the professions and arts not excluding music and sculpture which according to orthodox principles ought to be forbidden and to have been very discriminating in estimating the character of learned men.²⁵ The same source states further that the Sultan was enterprising in his nature and very fond of introducing novelties provided they could benefit the people and extended the state-aid to the industries manufacturing the fabrics and imitation cloths of all countries such as shawls and cloths of gold etc and expended thousands of pounds in those undertakings.²⁶

Not only such military, political and economic activities attracted his attention but also social needs of the people.²⁷ The above quoted author tells us along with Bowring that he issued an ordinance forbidding the Hindu ladies of the territories of the Balaghat going about with their breasts and their heads uncovered like animals. He gave orders that none of these women should go out of their houses without a robe and veil for covering of the head.²⁸ Further in his memoirs the Sultan is said to have very severely spoken of the custom of polyandry as a mean custom resulting in the growth of bastards. All these show that the Sultan was a sane and sensible social reformer bent upon righting both the blind superstitions and baneful customs of the Hindus on the one hand and licentious and capricious conduct of Muslims on the other.

Even his manners and customs as stated by various writers indicate that he was not a blind, unscrupulous, orthodox or fanatic muslim but a rational, sensible, scrupulous and exemplarily simple musalman.²⁹ Mr Miles says that he used to witness dancing or

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid, p. 202.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid, p.p. 102—203.

27. Rulers of India series—"Tippu Sultan" by Bowring and "The History of the reign of Tipu Sultan" by Col. Miles— pages 200 and 201.

28. Rulers of India series— Tippu Sultan by Bowring

29. The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan by Col. Miles.

performance of bayadeers for the sake of recreation though he forbade jests and ribaldry.³⁰ He used to retain the hair of his eyebrows and eyelashes and moustaches contrary to the custom of the deceased Nawab. These customs are generally looked upon by bigoted musalmans as invidious to the orthodox principles of Islam. He shaved his beard also thinking it not becoming to him. But in observance of prayers, fasts and other religious duties the same writer says that he was very strict and set an exmple to the people of Islam. It is also said that he was mindful of the feelings of the dismissed officials whether Hindus or Muslims and accustomed to reappoint them after they were corrected of³¹ their faults or punished as it is manifest from an inscription of Kurnool District which records an order to one Chenniah of Hanumanthagundum (evidently a subordinate official) to restore the Karanamship of Papayya and Perayya of Peddavanthurla.³²

Now coming to the popular hearsay that speaks of Tippu, I desire to state a prominent tradition told about in Bellary District and which goes to say that Purniah, the Finance Minister of Tippu, got the Siva Temple now situated in the premises of the famous Rock Fort of Tippu Sultan at Bellary, built, the money for which being provided by Tippu himself. The Archakas (Priests) of that temple also say that the Inam lands they enjoy were originally granted by Tippu himself. Though this is to be historically tested by further research, I am sure the readers will find it undoubtedly reliable as it is free from unnecessary exaggerations superficial or superfluous in character.

Now having fairly sketched the evidence I have collected to positively confirm my new theory, I want to negatively corroborate it by exploding the distorted statements of the previous historians that Tipu was a bigoted muslim ruler. Before I take up the formal attack against these statements, I want to invite the attention of the scholars to a comparison that may be instituted between Tippu and the proverbial fanatic ruler of India, Aurangazeb, for further elucidation of my new theory.

Aurangazeb³³ as everyone knows drove out the Hindu architects patronised by his predecessors whereas our hero allowed Hindu architecture to exist in and by the side of a Muslim tomb got built by himself.³⁴ Aurangazeb not only discouraged this art because of

30 The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan by Col. Miles p. 200 and 201.

31. Ibid.

32. Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Rangachariar recorded as 176 of Karnoo. District.

33 History of Aurangazeb by J. Sarkar Vol. III

34 Ibid page 92

his orthodox Muslim principles but also banished pure music from his court, and sent the music to the burial as said by J. Sarkar but Tippu used to patronise and be present at performances of Baydeers which is evidently dancing and music³⁵ Further our hero allowed the figures of elephants to flourish on his own coins whereas the fanatic Moghul ruler wanted to remove the two stone elephants placed by Jehangir on the two side pillars of the Hatipul Gate of Agra Fort in order to carry out the rules of canon law and to remove innovations.³⁶ Then our hero evinced an enthusiastic fondness and sincere belief in the efficacy of Hindu Astrology whereas in Aurangazeb's reign the astrologers all over the Empire were bound down in October 1675 and made to furnish securities for not drawing up alamanacs in the following year saying that it was savouring of Hindu Faith.³⁷ Further Aurangazeb ordered, both during his Viceroyalty and Emperorship, a regular destruction of all the Hindu Temples throughout the Empire and made it a chief duty of his Censor to destroy the Hindu places of worship whereas Tippu retained undemolished the prominent Hindu Temple of Ranganatha in his very capital and whereas the former burdened the Hindus with heavy Jaziyya and discriminative customs duties, there is no evidence of such imposition in the reign of Tippu who even used to dismiss Muhammadan officials accused with misuse of state finances and oppression of the people in any way.³⁸ Whereas Aurangazeb dismissed all the Hindu writers with a single stroke of his pen, Tippu had at the helm of the purse only Hindus.³⁹ Then the former hated the Innovation of Illahi Era of Akbar and restored the traditional lunar Calendar of Muslims whereas Tippu gave up the traditional system of lunar Calendar as defective and brought in a drastic innovation by adopting therein Mauladi Era which largely bears affinities with the Hindu Era of South India. To sum up, Aurangazeb's policy was static, purely orthodox, blind to reason, invidious of innovations, and insensible of the results of the policy pursued whereas Tippu's was dynamic, in accordance with the dictates of reason and conscience, fond of innovations and well sensible of the results of his policy. It is a regrettable feature that such a broad-minded ruler, as we have seen him to be in the light of all kinds of evidence, is unwarrantedly accused with bigotry simply because of one or two overt actions on his part. The first charge levelled against him by previous writers⁴⁰ is that he drove out of the coastal region thirty thousand christians and forcibly

35 Ibid.

36 Bernier;—161-163 and Mamici 224.

37 History of Aurangazeb by J. Sarkar Vol. III, p. 804

38 Ibid p. 315.

39 Ibid and also R. Mukherjee's Indian History—Muhamadan Period.

40. Bowring, Wilks etc,

deported them into Mysore.⁴¹ Tippu said that this action on his part was due to the mischief of the Portuguese who, having, on pretence of trade, obtained settlements on the West coast, had prohibited musalmans from practising their faith, expelled Hindus from their territories, those who remained being enrolled as christians. This account of Tippu himself is a sufficient reply to the above charge and it is well vindicative of his true motive in that the action being not religious as attributed to him by the western writers but one of punishing them for their religious persecutions. This further shows that Tippu felt intolerant of the religious persecutions and that he was well aware of the true motives of the western traders being expansion of christianity and territorial aggrandisement.⁴² Then the second charge lodged against him is that he forcibly deported and converted many Hindus of Coorg and Malabar to Islam. If we dive deep into the matter, sift, weigh and judge historical evidence available in this connection, we can say that he did this as a sheer political and social expediency but not as a gratification of his religious fanaticism. First we shall see what Tippu himself said about this.⁴³ "It is a custom with you for the eldest of five brothers to marry and for the wife of such brothers to be common to all the five; hence there cannot be the slightest doubt of you all being bastards. This is about the seventh time you have acted treacherously towards the Government and plundered our armies. By transporting you to some other country your progeny becomes legitimate and the epithet 'sons of sinful mothers' will not be for you." This account of Tippu shows that he intended to rectify the social defects of polyandry and other iniquitous customs by such alleged deportation and conversion, for Islam does not give sanction to such iniquitous customs, and at the same time bind them to his rule by the religious bonds extirpating once for all their rebellious spirit.

Then, if you will have to doubt as some historians opine that he made use of the rebellious spirit in them as an excuse for such forcible conversion, that is also unwarranted, for there are various cases of rebellions during his regime wherein he never intended to gratify his selfish fanatic motive.⁴⁴

Basap Naik of Harphanahalle⁴⁵ and others rose against Tippu's authority in 1792 A. D. and gave him much trouble for seven months after which he could subdue and punish them but he did not convert

41. Bowring's Tippu Sultan— Rulers of India series,

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid

44. The History of the reign of Tippu Sultan by Col. Miles pp. 35, 36, 49 and 160.

45. Ibid.

them to Islam.⁴⁶ Again in 1783 the Polygars of Chittore, Madhurapalle, Punganur and Kaliadesya, Chief of Nargunda, rebelled against his authority and Tippu could only with great difficulty suppress them. But he did not even here think of converting them to Islam. Therefore we have to conclude that he did not necessarily make use of the rebellions as lame excuses for expansion of Islam or Hindu persecution and that the only instance of conversion of the Malabar Hindus was due to other than religious reasons.*

(To be continued.)

46. Ibid.

*Mr. V. S. Tata writes as follows in the Hindu Illustrated Weekly dated 16-7-33 under the caption 'Moslem Rulers and a Hindu Guru'. "For more than a century and half History has regarded Hyder and Tippu Sultan, the two Muslim Rulers of Mysore as born haters of Hinduism. But a perusal of the 32 records in the possession of the Jagad Guru of Sringeri Mutt which are letters written by Hyder and Tippu ranging from 1781—1791 A.D., to the Jagad Guru, shows that they are not haters of Hinduism but lovers of it. When Parasuram Bahu raided the Mutt in 1790 A. D. and pulled out the Goddess Sharada, Tippu Sultan magnanimously helped the Guru with men and money for the reconsecration of the Goddess,"

Editor.

EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

M. RAMA RAO, M.A., B.Ed.

In my "Political history of the Kakatiyas" I had occasion to refer to some Kakatiya inscriptions recently discovered in the Nizam's dominions. A list of these inscriptions has been already published by me in this journal.¹ I now propose to give the texts or extracts from some of the inscriptions and indicate their importance.

1. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 सामन्तविष्टिवशः श्रीमान्काकतिपु | 13 ग्गात्मजं हत्वा जौ गुणसागरस्य [स्स] |
| 2 राधिनाधो बेतः । चोडक्षमापा | 14 पुरकूदेशं च गोभ्राह्मयः [यं] [1] तत्त |
| 3 ल चमूवार्धि प्रमधनसमार्जि | 15 कूयुत मन्मकोंडविषय [यं] त्रै |
| 4 तोर्जितलक्ष्मीः [11] (1) पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्प | 16 लोक्यमल्ल क्षमाधीशा च्छस |
| 5 वित्रचरितः प्रोल क्षमापाल | 17 नबद्ध मुद्गतजयी संलब्ध |
| 6 को निर्वक्रीकृतचक्रकूटविष | 18 वा न्शाश्वतं ॥ [3] सूनु रस्य परशूपद |
| 7 यो भद्रंगविद्रावणः [1] जित्वा | 19 वा त्रि(न्)श्रोळमाळवमदेभम् |
| 8 कोंकणमण्डळो (लं) निजयश शं [स्सं] | 20 गेशः [1] विक्रमेण भुवि विक्र |
| 9 पालिताशः परादुत्सार्यायै | 21 मचक्री बेतभूपतिरिति प्र |
| 10 जनस्तुतस्य [स्स] विसरक्तीति समावर्त | 22 थितो भूत् ॥ (4) अन्मकोण्डपुरी वा |
| 11 यत् ॥ [2] स एव ॥ जित्वापान्तर मन्व | 23 टिं [टीं] तीर्थं शिवपुराह्वयं [1] कृत्वा |
| 12 यान् पृथुवना कांडवर्ति दु | 24 तत्र स्वनाम्ना सौ देवालय मचीकर(रो)त् ॥ |

(Verse 1) Bēta is the lord of Kākatipura. He obtained much wealth and glory by churning the ocean of the Chōla king's armies. (Verse 2) His son was king Prōla whose history is pious to the whole world, who straightened the *Chakrakūtavishaya*, put to flight (the ruler of) Bhadranga, conquered Kōṅkaṇamaṇḍala and attained much glory. (Verse 3)

He killed in battle Gonna the son of Koḍavartti Dugga, seized Purakū-dēśa and obtained from Trailōkyamalla through an edict, the Anuma-konḍavishaya comprising their respective lands. (Verse 4) His son the lion to the elephants of the Chōḷa and Mālava kings, a very Vikrama in valour, and known as *Paraśu* was famed as king Bēta. (Verse 5) He made a garden at Hanumakonda, a *tīrtha* called Sīvapura and built there a temple after his own name.

2. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION.

North

- 1 समस्तभुवनाश्रय
- 2 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महारा
- 3 जाधिराज परमेश्वर
- 4 परमभट्टारक सत्या
- 5 अय्यकुलतिलक च
- 6 लुब्धयाभरणः श्रीम
- 7 [त्रि] त्रिभुवनमल्लदेव

- 13 नमकुण्डा पुरवरेश्वर
- 14 परममाहेश्वर पति
- 15 हितचरितं । विनयविभू
- 16 षणं श्रीमन्महामण्ड
- 17 लेश्वरं काकतीय बेते
- 18 शनं तन्न तन्दे महामण्ड
- 19 लेशरं पोळलरस

West

- 8 विजयराज्य माचं
- 9 द्वार्कतारं सलुत्तमि
- 10 रे । तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि (बी)
- 11 समधिगत पंचमहा
- 12 शब्द महामण्डलेश्वरा

- 20 ...संवत्सर मार्गसि [शि]
- 21 र शुद्ध द्वादशेयुं बृहस्प
- 22 ति वारदय्य वरुणप्रतिष्ठा
- 23 [का] लदोळ् निलिसिद शासनगं

While the kingdom of Srīmat Tribhuvanamalladēva the ornament of the Chalukyas was flourishing as long as the sun, moon and the stars, his subordinate Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bētēśa, lord of the city of Anuma-konda, set up this inscription while instituting god Varuṇa on a Friday the 12th day of the month of Mārgaśira in the year (name lost) (for the merit of) his father Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Pōḷalarasa.²

3. HANUMAKONDA INSCRIPTION.

- 1 श्रीमान्विक्रमचक्रि श्रीबद्धम
- 2 ण्डालिकोत्तमः । प्रादा त्पोलेश्वराय

- 3 दीप माचन्द्रताराकं ॥ स्वास्ति (श) षक
- वर्षम्सु

² See No. 2 of my 'List of Kakatiya inscriptions' in J.A.H.S. Vol. VII pt. 2

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 4 लु १००१ यगु सिद्धार्थिसंबत्सर | 10 |
| 5 सूर्यग्रहणंबुन श्रीमन्महाम | 11 नीरिनेल यंबदि मर्तुलु |
| 6 ण्डलेश्वर भेतमण्यलु भेतेश्वरंबुन | 12 सर्वबाधा |
| 7 बोलेश्वरदेवुनकु नन्द [दि] दीवियकु | 13 परिहारमु दग्गु वेळिगा नडपुवारु |
| नित्यं | 14 देवरकापै सुखंबुण्डुवाण्डु॥ स्वदत्तं प |
| 8 पन्डेन्डु मानिकलु नेयि याचं | 15 रदत्तं वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां । षष्टिवर्ष |
| 9 द्रतारकंबुग बोयुनट्टुगां दे | 16 सहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ |

The Maṇḍalika or feudatory of Vikrama (Vikramāditya) gave a perpetual lamp to god Prōlēśvara. In the Saka year 1001 on the occasion of a solar eclipse in the cyclic year Siddhārthi, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bētamayya ordained that every day 12 *mānikas* of ghee should be supplied for the perpetual lamp to god Prōlēśvara at Bētēśvaram. Fifty. (eighty?) *marṭus* of wet land free from all obligations and payments shall be devoted for this purpose.

NOTE:- See The Bharati I-9 where Mr. M. R. Kavi has published this inscription. This is the oldest dated record of the Kakaiyas. The Betesvaram referred to in line 6 must be identified with the temple built by Beta after his own name as per line 24 of No. 1 above.

4. KAZIPET INSCRIPTION.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 स्वास्ति श्रीस्तनपाठ | 11 दुर्जयकुलाब्धिचन्द्र स्सत्या |
| 2 चारुचर्चाभ स्सम्भिभि | 12 धान रस लबेतनरं |
| 3 तौशो मणिल्योतै [ती] रंजन | 13 द्रः [॥] (२) तत्पुत्रः प्रोलनृपः प |
| 4 पुंज शुभ्रकलिना [ना] नात्युन्न | 14 रघराणिपालमालिराजित च |
| 5 तोरस्थ | 15 रण रिसंदूरमुद्रिकांकां [॥] च |
| 6 जात तारा | 16 क्रं चक्रेश्वरस्य सकलधरित्रीः |
| 7 पथं । दत्तातो ... शिवःपुरा | 17 विश्रुतसंगर सुकिं [क्रि] त विक्रां |
| 8 णपुरुषः श्रीशौर्यनारायणः [॥] (१) | 18 त निजकर्तृधवलताशापू |
| 9 जयति चलमतिगण्ड स्सम | 19 तिः [॥] (३) चक्रे समुद्रसुयश अं |
| 10 रजय श्रीविभासभूषादण्डः [॥] | 20 द्रः सरि (स्स) समुद्र...मंग |

21 ॐ ॥ तत

(Verse 2) Hail ! prosperity to king Bēta *alias* Chalamartigaṇḍa, who is like the moon to the ocean of the Durjaya family, who is under the control of truth and whose arm is adorned by the goddess of victory in wars. (Verse 3) His son was Prōla whose feet are brightened by the headdresses of other kings and whose glory, the result of many brave deeds in numerous battles has spread to the end of all directions and made them white.³

5. PILLAMARRI INSCRIPTION.

श्रीमत्पद्मजपादपद्मयुगळा लोकत्रयाभ्युद्यता
दुःकृते विपुले कुले नरवरो बम्माभिधानो भवत् ।
यः कांचीनगरी कवाटहरणं कृत्वा प्रचंडाहव
क्रोड श्रोडनराधिपस्य कृतवान् मानद्रुमोन्मूलनं ॥

(Lines 10—34.)

In the great community born of the pair of Brahma's feet holy for all the three worlds, was born Bamma the worthy among men, who having taken away the door of the city of Kānchi, uprooted the tree of honour of the Chola king, having sported with a terrific battle.⁴

6. PALAMPET INSCRIPTION

तुर्घ्यप्रणादसमन्तरमेव तूर्ण-
माक्षिप्य यो यवनिकासदृशं कवाटं ।
कांचीपुरस्य समपादय दाशु वीर-
लक्ष्मीविवाह मिह काकति वल्लभस्य || verse 11 ||

"As soon as his musical instruments had pealed forth he swiftly flung open the doors of the city of Kānchi like a curtain and promptly brought about there the marriage of the Kakati monarch with the fortune of heroes."

NOTE:- Hyderabad Archaeological Series No. 4. Nos. 5 & 6 above treat of the exploits of Bamma founder of the Recherla family (See my 'Recherla family' in J.A.H.R.S. V-3) and confirm the identity of Prola I.

7. GANAPAVARAM INSCRIPTION.

यं जगदेवभूपालं लब्ध्वा हेमाद्रि भूपतिः ।
सेनापति ममात्यं च चक्रे विक्रमधीयुतं ॥ (lines 8—11) 1

³ No. 8 List of Kakatiya Inscriptions.

⁴ No. 4 List of Kakatiya Inscriptions.

तत्पुत्रोभू देवपाल नामधेयो धियां निधिः।

जगदेवमहीपालपालित स्सम्मत् स्सतां॥ (lines 14—17) 2

यस्तादिभक्ति मालक्ष्य जगदेवादनंतरं।

काकतीशः प्रोलभूप स्सो धरां पर्यपालयत्॥ (lines 17—20) 3

(1) Having obtained Jagaddēva, king Hēmādri made him the commander of his armies. (2) His son was Dēvapāla who was governed by Jagaddēva. (3) Prōla the Kakatiya king ruled the earth after Jagaddēva.⁵

LEMULAVADA INSCRIPTION.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 स्वस्ति श्रिलंबालवाड | 7 गदेवरुसरु ... श १०३१ |
| 2 समावासो समस्तप्रशस्तो | 8 यय सर्वधारिसंवत्स |
| 3 पेत समधिगतपंचमहा | 9 रद वैशाखशुद्ध [द्व] चतुर्द |
| 4 शब्दाद्यलंकारः कृतः श्रीम | 10 सि (शि) आदिवारदुंदु हरी |
| 5 हामंडलेश्वरं पो | 11 श्वरदेवारिगे... .. |
| 6 लवाककुलतिळकः श्रीमज (ज) | |

Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Jagaddēvarasa, resident of Lēmbālavāda who is adorned with the five musical instruments and is well-known and who is the ornament of the *Poluvākakula* made a gift to God Hariśvaradēva on a Sunday the 14th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the cyclic year Sarvadhārin⁶ corresponding to S. S. 1031.

9. NAGUNUR INSCRIPTION.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 स्वस्तिश्री समस्तप्रशस्ति सहितं | 7 स [शा] क बहुळ चदिवेलु |
| 2 श्रीमनुमहामंडलेश्व [श्व] रं | 8 पुयमगु सु [शु] कवर |
| 3 दोम्मेराजुलु श्रीमञ्चा | 9 मुनाडु मेडेरजु ज |
| 4 लुक्कय विक्रमगा (ल)... .. | 10 गदेवडुं एनभ इ [यि] |
| 5 उत्तम विस्व नाट्टिकनेय्द | 11 वेलुतो पोडिचि गेलिचे |
| 6 प्रमादिसंवत्सरद वै | |

5 No. 23 Kakatiya Inscriptions.

6 No. 13 Kakatiya Inscriptions.

In the Chalukyavikrama year 4 corresponding to *Pramādi* Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Dommerāju won a victory over 80000 along with Mēḍerāju and Jagaddēva.⁷

NOTE—Nos. 7, 8 and 9 help the identification of the Kakatiya rivals mentioned in the Hanumakonda inscription. The Jagaddeva, who in verse 2 of that inscription is said to have run away at the very sight of Prola II, is I believe, identical with the Jagaddeva of Nos. 7, 8 and 9 above. No. 9 is the only other record besides that of Hanumakonda which mentions Meda.

10. PALAMPET INSCRIPTION.

श्रीमत्प्रोलनृपाल सैन्यपतिना विख्यातविक्रान्तिना

युद्धे येन महाबलेन निहते मंथन्यगुंडाधिपे।

अन्ये धरिणः प्रतिदिशं प्रादुर्दुवं स्तक्षणा

त्सिंहेनेव निपातिते गजपतौ शेषा गजाः क्षुद्रकाः॥ verse 15 ॥

“When he, the commander of the blest king Prola’s army renowned for great valour, great of strength, smote in battle king Manthanya Guṇḍa, the other hostile monarchs fled away in every direction like the other lesser elephants when the chief elephant (of the herd) has been laid low by the lion.”⁸

NOTE—Verse 11 of the Hanumakonda inscription mentions that Guṇḍa was shaved, the Varaha or the Boar seal was impressed on his breast and that he fled to his city and never came to the field in spite of Prola’s challenge. That Guṇḍa must be identified with Guṇḍa of No. 10 above. Evidently the exploit of this Kakatiya general was the sequel to Prola’s fight.

11. JETCHERLA INSCRIPTION

3 स्वस्ति संमधिगत पंचमहा शब्द (शब्द) महा

4 मंडलेश्वर वीरमोहेश्वर कोट्युपेश्वरेश्वर (सू)

5 रयचंशोऽवुल्लुल्लु कांश्यपगोत्र क

6 लिकालान्वयनांभादि समस्तप्रशास्ति

7 हितं श्रीमन्महामण्डलेश्वर कंदूरि उदय

8 नचोडमहाराजुल सुकाधिकारुलु

... ..

7 The Bharati VII—6

8 Hyderabad Arch. series No. 3.

- 11 बालुक्यविक्रमवरुषमुलु १०८४ गु चित्रभा
 12 नुसंवत्सर पौष्यबहुल २ मेगळवा
 13 रमुनांडु उत्तरायणसंक्रांति निमि ...

The tax-collectors of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kāndūri Udayachōḍa Mahārāja, the lord of Kōḍūr, born in the solar race and the Karikāla family (made a gift) on Tuesday the 2nd day of the dark half of the month of Pausya in the year Chitrabhānu, corresponding to S. S. 1084.

NOTE—Prola is said to have defeated Govindarāja and given his kingdom to Udayarāja. (Hanm. ins. verse 9) we also know that a Chōḍodaya died out of fear of Rudra's valour and that Rudra burnt his city and married his daughter Padmā. (Hanm. ins. verses 27, 28 & 29) I believe that Choda and Udayachoda are both one and the same person identical with the ruler of Kāndūr mentioned in this inscription.

12. MAMILLAPALLI INSCRIPTION.

तीत्रांशु वंशतिलकः कलिकालकर्णो

गोकर्ण इत्युदभव द्रुवनैकवीरः ।

... ..

... .. || verse 2 ||

उदभू दुदयादित्य सत्यसंध स्सुत स्ततः ।

बोधख्यातिमयी यस्य मयूखवितति क्षितौ ॥ verse 3 ॥

अथ तत्कृतिनक्षत्रगणंप्रगुणतेजसः ।

भीमगोकर्णभूपालौ सूर्याचंद्राविवोदितौ ॥ verse 5 ॥

(2) In the solar race was born Gōkarṇa, the hero of the whole world. (3) To him was born Udayāditya the truthful. (4) To him were born Bhīma and Gōkarna 10

NOTE—Bhima and his brother Gokarna are known to us from many inscriptions from the Nizam's dominions. The Hanumakonda inscription tells us that Bhima killed Gokarna while at meals, had illicit dealings with his own step-mother and aspired for sovereignty on the death of Taila (III). Kakti Rudra is said to have destroyed the capital of Bhima and driven him to the woods. (Hanm. ins. verses 16, 18, 21, 25, & 28). There is another inscription at Mamillapalli which is dated in the reign of Gokarna. (Sujata. I—ii.) I believe that this Bhima and his ancestors belong to the Vardhamanapura branch of the Telugu Cholas hitherto unknown.

13. MADIREDDI KUNTA INSCRIPTION.

श्रीरामेश्वरपण्डितोयमिति दिग्ग्याप्तो यशश्चन्द्रिका
 जातै र्यो गुणरत्नरोहणगिरि माहेश्वरग्रामणीः।
 एतेषां सुरसद्मनाच कृतवान् पुंजं घृणातत्परो
 दातान्नं विकलार्तदीनमुनिविप्रेभ्य स्तपोविश्रुतः॥ 1
 कृत्वानै जनपत्यः [ल्याः] शिवपुरनाम स्त्रिपुररुषतीर्थं।
 स्वदत्तं यस्य [च्च] भक्त्या त्रिभुवनमल्लावनीश जनकेन॥ 2
 वेत्ताया (यो) लकुलेश्वरागम महासिद्धांत सारामृतं
 येनास्यं [स्यां] प्रकटीकृतो वसुमतौ धर्मस्य [श्च] तस्योत्तमः।
 शिष्योसौ चलमर्तिगण्डनृपतिः प्रोलावनीवल्लभः
 स्तंभं स्थापितवान् स्वकीर्तिविमलस्तंभायितं शाश्वतं॥ 3

The moonlight rays of his fame have spread to all directions as "this is Rāmēśvaradikshita." He is the mount *Mā·u* for noble qualities; the leader of Māhēśvaras; kind hearted: the giver of food to the defectives, sufferers, poor-folk, saints and brahmins: and widely known for his charities. (2) Here he made the abodes of gods He gave the name Śivapura to the village of (vai) Janapalle which was given to him by the father of Tribhuvanamalla with great devotion. He also constructed Tripurushatīrtha. (3) He is the knower of the nectar-essence of the philosophy of Lakulēśvarāgama and proclaimed dharma on this earth. His best disciple king, Prola alias Chalamartigandā, instituted a pillar of victory as if his own untarnished glory was made into that pillar.

NOTE—This record is of paramount importance. It solves clearly and un-equivocally the problem as to the religious persuasion of the early Kakatiya rulers. It can now be definitely said that these were Saivas. Ramesvara Dikshita seems to have been a great Saivite divine and the religious preceptor of Prola I. (cf. Visvesvarasiva the *Rajaguru* and the *Dikshaguru* of Kakatiya Ganapatideva mentioned in lines 97 and 163 of the Malkapuram inscription in J. A. H. R. S. IV, 3 and 4 p. 147—162.) The *Tribhuvanamalla-vanisa-janaka* of No. 13 above must be Prola I (see my "Political History of the Kakatiyas" in J. A. H. R. S. VI-ii. p. 22. the geneological table.) and we now come to know that this monarch also had the title *Chalamaratiganda* like his son Beta II. (see No. 4 above). Another interesting fact brought to light by the record under consideration is that the Pasupata form of Saiva flourished in the Andhra country in the 11th century.

14. HANUMAKONDA INSCRIPTION.

भारद्वाजकुलश्रियः परिवृद्धः श्रोतव्यः

श्रीरामेश्वरदीक्षितो जनयिता यस्य क्षितावप्रणीः।

सो चिंतेंद्रवरो द्रव्यामृतयते दिशये (व्यो) यन्ति श्रद्धया

श्रीमद्रुद्रनरेश्वरस्य सुमते वैशाखलिं वर्णये ॥ lines 16—20 ॥

I, Chintēndravara, the disciple of Advayāmrīta yati and whose father is Rāmēśvaradīkshita of the *Bhāradvājukula*, renowned for orthodoxy, describe the geneology of king Kudra lord of men.

NOTE—Chintendravara the composer of this inscription is one of the Sanskrit poets of the Kakatiya age hitherto unknown.

15. PILLALAMARRI INSCRIPTION.

नानावनीनाथ किरीटकोटि रत्नांशुभि इचुंबितपापीठे

निर्दुष्ट मंभुनिधिवेष्टितां तां विश्वभरां शासति रुद्रदेवे ॥ (verse 2 lines 3-6) 1

तस्य प्रसादा दामश्रीः [ः] श्रीमतो रुद्रभूपतेः।

नामः कामात्मज स्सर्वगुणधामा कृती प्रदः ॥ (verse 5 lines 14—16) 2

शाकाब्दे शैलतारापति भवगणिते वत्सरे राक्षसाख्ये

वैशाखे शुक्लपक्षे कुसुमशरतिथौ वासरे भास्करस्थौ (स्थे)॥

लिंगानि त्रीणि सोऽयं त्रिपुरविजयिन [ः] संप्रतिष्टाप्य वृत्तिः [ति]

प्राद [ः] सुकृतवि[ः] तये स्वस्थ मातुः पितुश्च ॥

(verse 6 lines 16—20) 3

(1) While Rudradēva whose foot-rest is kissed by the gleams of gems set in the headdresses of kings was ruling this earth surrounded by the sea, (2) Nāma who got his wealth by his (Rudra's) grace and who was the son of Kāma and who is an embodiment of virtues, and the giver of all desires (3) instituted three lingas of Śiva for the merit of himself, his father and mother, on a Sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisākha in the year Rākshasa, corresponding to the Saka year counted by the hills, moon and Siva (1117) 18

12 I. A. XI p. 272

13 See No. 10 Kakatiya Inscriptions

NOTE—This record shows that Rudra was ruling in S. S. 1117 or 1195 A. D. We hear no more of this monarch after this date. His younger brother Mahadeva is known to have succeeded him and ruled for a very short time viz- three or four years and his son Ganapati ascended the Kakatiya throne in 1199 A. D. Apparently this inscription supplies the last regnal year of Rudra.

16 BÜRUGUGADDA INSCRIPTION.

- 1 ॐ जयन्ति जगदज्ञान (त) क्षमस्तिमिर भास्करः
- 2 रामानुज पदांभोज मूषणं पुरुषो
- 3 क्षम ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वर काकतीय
- 4 रुद्रदेशमहाराजुलु पृथ्वीराज्यमु
- 5 सेयुचुंडगानु बारिप्रधानि सत्रमु बो
- 6 ह्मराजुंगारि तम्मुलु देवकीपुत्रदा
- 7 सुलु स्वस्ति श्रीसुभशकवर्षमुलु ११८० ल
- 8 गु विभवसंवत्सर ज्येष्ठ सुह १० गुरुवा
- 9 रमुनांडु बूरुगुगडुप्राममध्वमु
- 10 नंदु सकलजनहितार्थमुगानु उ
- 11 भय फिराट्टिसहितमै चेन्नगोपीनाथनि
- 12 प्रतिष्ठ सेशि अंगरंगभोगालकु इ
- 13 चिन त्रित्ति... ..

Om Hail prosperity, to Purushōttama who is the adornment to the feet of Rāmānuja and the sun in dispersing the darkness of the world's ignorance. While Kakatīya Rudradēvamahārāja was ruling, Dēvakīputradāsa the brother of the king's minister Satramu Bollamarāju instituted in the middle of the village of Būrugugadda god Gōpīnātha for the merit of all people, on Thursday the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the cyclic year Vibhava corresponding to the Saka year 1180.¹⁴

NOTE—Rudramba is known in her inscriptions as Rudradevamaharaja and may be therefore identified with the Rudradova of this record. She is supposed to have come to the throne after the death of her father Ganapati in 1260 A. D. The Malkapuram pillar inscription shows that Ganapati was alive in 1261 A. D. and his daughter figures as a full sovereign even from 1260. No. 16 above shows that this queen was reigning even from 1258. As has been shown elsewhere (cf. ch. IV. p. 164 of my "Political History of the Kakatiyas" in J. A. H. R. S. VI—3 and 4) this inscription proves that Ganapati and his daughter Rudramba ruled conjointly for many years.

¹⁴ See No. 84 Kakatiya Inscriptions.

17 PAMMI INSCRIPTION

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 स्वस्ति श्रीसकवर्षमुलु ११५६ | 8 भुनि तिरुप्रतिष्ठ देवनप्रेगड से |
| 2 अंतु दुर्मुक्सिंवत्स | 9 थिपंगानु स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महासा |
| 3 र वैशाखसु [शु] इ ११ गु स्वस्तिश्री | 10 मन्त विर्याल नागसानम्मगा |
| 4 मन्महामण्डलेश्वर काकति | 11 नु आ मल्लाजुनु मुम्मडिराजुनु |
| 5 य गणरुद्रदेवमहाराजुलु | 12 रेंवार्तिनुडि पम्मिकि वाषि आ देव |
| 6 पृथिवराज्यं सेयुचुडगानु | 13 रकु दण्डपेट्टि प्रगड माकुमहा |
| 7 स्वस्ति श्रीमनु पम्मि प्रच (स) न्रवल्ल | 14 संतोषं सेसिरि..... |

While Mahamandalēśvara Ganam Rudradēvamahārāja was ruling the earth Devanīrāgida instituted god Prasannavallabha at Pammi on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha in the cyclic year Durmukhi, corresponding to the Saka year 1156. Then Viryāla Nāgasānamma Malraju, and Mummaḍirāju came to Pammi from Rēmbarti and paid their respects to the god 15

NOTE—The date of this record is of paramount importance. It antedates the commencement of the conjoint rule of Ganapati and Rudramba by twenty-four years. It also tells us for the first time that Rudramba was also known as Ganam Rudradevamaharaja besides the male appellation Rudradeva-maharaja which is common to all her inscriptions. It looks as though she had a very long period of training in state-craft under her far-sighted father Ganapati.

18 KOLANUPAKA INSCRIPTION

First side

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 19 आम्नायो | 29 ण्यस्य गृहं सुवेश्म यशसो |
| 20 दारधान्न स्सरसरुहदश स्त | 30 गंभीरतायाः पदं। औदा |
| 21 स्थुषो नामिपद्मे धातस्तानुः प्र | 31 र्यस्य निकेतनं गुणमणिश्रे |
| 22 जाना मजनिषत भुजो (जयो) भूर्भू | 32 णी* मंदिरं लक्ष्म्या स्सच्च |
| 23 जो (जा) दुर्जयाख्याः। वंशं तेषा | 33 रितस्य केळिसदनेन स्या त्पोल |
| 24 मभूर्वं नतवितविभवाः | 34 राजाह्वय [11] तस्यात्मजो |
| 25 काकतीया नरेंद्राः कुर्वाणाः | Second side. |
| 26 क्षोणिरक्षां निजभुजपरि | 35 णीपति रमलदोर्दंड वि |
| 27 धैर्जागरूकानुभावाः ॥ [1] तद्वा | 36 भवो यदीयां (र) तस्या |
| 28 र्यस्य [तद्गोत्रस्य] विकान्तिभूः* कारू | 37 सीत्यारिमाथित वैरिद्विपमदः [1] |

15 See No 32 Kakatiya Inscriptions

16 Some portion seems to be lost here

- 38 महादेवं देवं य
 39 मनुदित वाक्पतिः
 40 हसं भुजंगं लंघ्यते
 41 क्षितितनुः च [म] मन्थत
 42 मनुजः ॥ [३] तस्मिन्
 43 गणपतिनामधेय
 44 स्संजज्ञे जलनिधिमेखलां
 45 भुवं यशः ॥ [१] दोस्तंभे
 46 मणिवलयि [यी] चकार शतै
 47 हिंसागैः फणिपतिना कथं
 48 चि दूढां ॥ [४] जाता तस्य पयो
 49 निधेरिव रमा श्रीरुद्रदेवी
 50 सुता भास्वद्भिर्नृपमौलि
 51 रत्ननिबहै नीराजितांघ्रि
 52 वृष्णा । त्यागेन त्रिदिवद्रु
 53 मा न्दक्षदिशः कीर्त्या धना
 54 नां हतिं लक्ष्म्या किंच
 55 भुजाबलेन विजयं
 56 न्यकुर्वति (ती) वर्तति ॥ [५] भाग्यै
 57 विश्वस्थ तस्याः पतिरभव
 58 दधो वीरभद्राभिदान स्सौ
 59 दयेणेन्दु मन्त्रां
 60 पतिमपि महसा
 61 मंदभासौ वितन्वन् । य
 62 द्वैदग्ध्यं विदग्धा यदुरु

- 63 वितरणं याचको [कौ]
 64 दू (घो) यद्वाक्कां राजन्मो व
 65 त्प्रतापं विमतनृपत
 66 योऽर्जन्ते ज्ञतभावाः ॥ [६] ज्ञे
 67 दृ श्रालुक्कयवंशाण्यं

Third side

- 70 लंकांघ्रा
 71 यां सुतो जात श्रीमहा
 72 देवराजतः । नाश्रेदुशे
 73 खरो राजकुमार त्रिशवयो
 74 रिव ॥ [८] इंदुशेखरनरद्र
 75 नंदने नंदति स्वय म
 76 शेषनंदने । जग्मुषां वित
 77 रणं रणं मुहु स्वस्थ
 78 तव विदुषां द्विषाम
 79 पि ॥ [९]
 80 ... ॥ वीरेंदुशेखर पदां
 81 बुजसेवकेन श्रीपोतिनाय
 82 क इति प्रधि [यि] तेन तेन । या वंश
 83 वर्धनं समाह्वय विंश्रुता
 84 सा कुल्या कृता प्रमुचिरा कोलि
 85 पाकपुर्वा ॥ [१०] अस्यां काकवि
 86 संतति क्षितिभृतां श्रुत्या (त्व) श्रि
 87 रायेश्वरा दक्षी त्सूनृत मा (न)
 88 सस्त्रिभुवनख्यातैक वीरा... [११]

103 प्र

104 माद्यब्दे दिपे कृष्ण पंचम्यां मकर

105 संक्रमे ।

(1) From the shoulders of Him who was born out of the navel-lotus of the abode of the scriptures came the Durjaya kings. In this lineage were born the Kakatiya kings who guarded the earth with the rampart of their shoulders (2) Prōla the abode of kindness, glory, serenity, tolerance and virtue, and the sporting house of wealth and good conduct, was a source of light for this family. (3) His son was Mahādēva who churned the haughtiness of his enemy-elephants and whom men took to be *Mahādēva* himself. (4) To him was born Gaṇapatidēva who made this earth surrounded by the sea an oval of gems to his shoulder, a veritable pillar of victory. (5) To him was born Rudradēvī, like the goddess Lakshmi from the ocean. Her feet glow with the gems set in the diadems of kings and she defies the trees of heaven in charity, the ten directions in fame, *Kubera* in wealth, and *Vijaya* in strength. (6) Owing to the good fortune of the world, Virabhadra became her husband, he that defied the moon in beauty and the sun in greatness. His learning is known to the learned, the needy know his charity, the sub-ordinates his commands and the enemy kings his valour. (7) The first-born of the Chalukyan ocean (8) The prince Induśēkhara was born to Lakkāmba and Mahādēvarāja as if from the two *Śivs* (*Śiva* and *Pārvati*). (9) As the son of Induśēkhara the giver of pleasures to all was himself pleased and as the learned obtained bounty and the enemies war (10) At Kolipāka a canal was made by name Vamśa-vardhana by Pōtināyaka the servant of the feet of Induśēkhara. (11) In this he the servant of the kings that are the descendants of Kākati and the hero reknowned in the three worlds (made)...¹⁷

NOTE—This again is a very important inscription. It is stated here-in that Rudramba was the daughter of Ganapati. For the first time this record reveals the name of the husband of the Kakatiya queen who has till now been unknown. (E R. 740 of 1920 also mentions his name) We are given besides, many details about the family of Chalukya Virabhadra. He seems to have been the eldest son of Mahadeva. From the mention of the Kakatiyas in lines 85-87 I am inclined to believe that the family of Virabhadra was subordinate to the Kakatiyas. It looks as though these scions of the Eastern Chalukyan family were ruling over the Kolipāka region as vassals of the Kakatiyas. Ganapati might have gone in for this alliance with the idea of retaining his only daughter with himself and giving her the training necessary for the future Kakatiya ruler. Accordingly Virabhadra might have lived at the Kakatiya capital as Prince-consort. The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it describes the geneologies of both the husband and the father of Rudramba.

17. See No. 39. Kakatiya Inscriptions.

19. GUDUR INSCRIPTION

अनुपम तुल्योत्कृष्टाब्धि ननेकुलु राजनन्दकुल
 सानि नबिरंद वेमडुनु संभवुड्ये नतिप्रसिद्धै
 विनुत विरोधिमण्डलिक वेमडु वेमडुबोले वानिकिनु [न]
 घनुड्यु नेरंभूपति जगद्विनुतुं दुदयिचे गीर्तितोनु [न]॥

(verse 1 lines 1—7)

भाषितकीर्ति नातानिकि पाण्डवमण्डम भीमडोयनं
 गा विरयाल भीम नृपचस्यरुडै युदयिचे वानिकिनु [न]
 भूविनुतुण्ड मण्डलिकभूषणु डेरनेरंभूडुत्तम
 श्रीविनुतुण्ड बंधुजनसेव्युडु दानुदयिचे नुन्नतिनि [न]

(verse 2; lines 1—13)

अतण्डनि बोदुवेतवसुधाधिपु जेक्रेनि वानि बैरि नु
 श्रितमुन जंपि या कोरविदेशमुनंदु त्रतिष्टसेसि

 ॥

(verse 3; lines 13—16)

अरुदगु नट्टि एरंनुप नंगन गंडलानि याक मे
 लारदनि वेतभूविभुनि गाकतिवळु चोसि वानि ता
 बरगा जेतवट्टि घनु बल्लवरायनि यागि जेबे मा
 स्करानिभु चक्रवर्ति गानि काकति निल्पुड गोदिसेयदे ॥

(verse 4; lines 20—26)

(1) After many kings have gone in the Duvjaya family, was born Venna like Venna (Vishnu) to the rival feudatories; as if he was Vishnu himself; to him was born Er̥ra the mighty with great glory. (2) To him was born Viryāla Bhīma the slayer of kings as if he was Bhīma the middle-born among the Pāṇḍavas; to him was born Er̥ra the ornament of *Mandalikas*; one who was known for his great wealth and was attended upon by his relatives. (3) In war he took up the cause of Boṭṭa Bēta, killed his enemy and instituted him in the Kōṛavi country. (4) Er̥ra's wife Kāmasāni made Bēta the Kākativallabha, took him by the hand and sought the protection of Pallavarāya. Is it not a great thing to have delivered a *Chakravarti* (emperor) like the very sun and maintained Kākati (continued the Kakatiya line).¹⁸

NOTE— This inscription is important for many reasons. I have read the second line of Verse 2 as "Viryala-Bhima nripaghasmarudai" meaning "Bhima of the Viryala family, the slayer of kings". This line conveys no meaning if the whole expression is read as a single compound. On the basis of this reading this inscription has to be taken to be a record of the Viryala family. A *Mahasamanta* Viryala Nagasanammangaru figures in No. 17 above and is said to have come to Pammi from *Hembarti* which I believe was her head-quarters. The pillar that contains this record bears another inscription of the Viryala family in the Canarese language. (see No. 59 *Kak. Ins.*) This seems to have been engraved in the time of Malla son of Beta and grandson of Sura. It is not known if and how these chieftains were related to the family of Erra mentioned in No. 19 above. Another inscription from *Inugurti* mentions a *Bayyambika* of the Viryala family. *Gudur*, *Pammi*, and *Inugurti* are places in the Warangal District of the Nizam's dominions. It is likely that *Hembarti* also was in the vicinity of these places and probably this was the head-quarters of the Viryala family. *Koravi* is a village in the Warangal district. An Eastern Chalukyan inscription of about the tenth century A. D. found at this place mentions *Koravi*. Beta the *Kakatiavallabha* is said to have been established over the *Koravi* country. The last line of verse 4 of the inscription under consideration tells that *Kamasani* wife of *Erra II* of the Viryala family issued a *Chakravarti* and maintained the *Kakatiya* line. This is rather startling. The context indicates that this son of *Kamasani* is identical with Beta the *Kakatiya* king. There were two *Kakatiya* rulers of this name Beta I and Beta II as No. 1 above shows. It is definitely known that Beta II was the son of *Prola I*. This *Gudur* inscription must therefore be assigned to the time of Beta I, whom I have assigned to the period 1020—1050 A. D. (See J. A. H. R. S. VII—3 p. 175.) This Viryala family origin of the *Kakatiyas* needs further investigation.

20. BUDAPUR INSCRIPTION.

चत्वारः जगति ख्यातास्ततो वर्णास्समंततः ।

स्वधर्मकर्मनिर्माणमभवन्निर्मलौजसः ॥ 1

तेषां मह्यमहिमं महितं स्तुरीयो

वर्णश्चिन्त्यः प्रसवभूमि रतिप्रसिद्धः ।

... भवत्समधिकं च गुणार्णवानां

दुग्धाब्धिवत्पुरुषरत्नगुणैरुपेतं ॥ 2

प्रशस्तमस्ति तन्नापि काकतीयकुलं महत् ॥ 3

(1) From him (Brahma) were known four castes, all over the world and from him also were formed the duties and doings of these four castes. (2) Out of them the fourth caste, which is the birth place of wealth, excelled all others like the ocean of milk, being accompanied by the virtues of its men. (3) Within it the *Kakatiya* family was praiseworthy.

21. UPPARAPALLI INSCRIPTION

- 23 ... सकलजनविनुतंबगु नान्धदेशंबु
 24 नकु विभूषणंबैन यनुमकौंड यनु पुरव
 25 रंबु निजराजधानिगा नोप्पुचुन्न काकतिभूपा
 26 लक्रमंबुन जनविनुतयशोविलासुंडुनु वि
 27 जयलक्ष्मीविलासुंडुनु नैन रुद्रनरेंद्र सु
 28 पुत्रुंडुनु
 35 विभवामरेंद्रुंडुनु नैन गणपतिदेव म
 36 हीनाथुनकुं ब्रधानियै ॥

..... The minister of king Ganpatidēva who is the Indra in wealth, and who is the son of king Rudradēva who sports with the goddess of victory, whose fame is extolled by men and who in the order of succession of the Kākatiya kings has become the ruler with Anumakonda, the ornament of the Āndhradēśa as his capital.¹⁹

NOTE—While all other sources of Kakatiya History tell us that Ganapati was the son of Mahadeva, this record mentions him as the son of Rudra. It is unique in this respect. Since it is a record made in the reign of Ganapati himself there cannot be the possibility of a mistake of the later times creeping into it. If this inscription is relied upon, the version that Rudra died child-less and was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva and his son Ganapati has to be given up as untrue.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINĠA.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

Chapter VII.

The Later Eastern Gaṅga Kings.

(Continued from page 246 of Vol. VII, Part 4)

8. *Bhānudēva I. A. D. 1264—1278.*

Bhānudēva I or Vira Bhānudēva I was the son of Narasimha I and his wife Seetādēvi, who was the daughter of Mālachandra, king of Malwa. As stated in several of his own inscriptions, he came to the throne in Śaka year 1186 or A.D. 1264 and ruled for 18 *anka* years, i.e. 15 regnal years. He married Jākalladēvi who belonged to the Chalukya Dynasty and the son, born to them, called Nṛsimha II succeeded to the Gaṅga throne in A.D. 1278—1279.

From the C.P. inscription of Nṛsimhadēva II, published by N N. Vasu,²⁰⁴ we learn that this king gave prosperity to the realm by destroying enemies and fully subduing the power of 'other kings'. He had 16 ministers, well-versed in *Rāja neeti* (Politics) and "capable of destroying enemies by feats of strategy of virtuous character and of unfailing resolution", with whose advice he always governed the kingdom. He is described as a *Nirbhara-dāta* (Donor of boundless gifts) and *Kṛṣṇasārīra* (Possessor of blue body). Having obtained the wealth of other kings by conquest, and being liberal-hearted, he made several gifts of gold articles such as *Kanakāchala* (gold hill), *Kāma-dhenu* (cow fulfilling desires) and *Kalpadruma* (celestial tree) to his ministers. He also gave to learned *Śrōtriya* (Vedic) Brahmins "one hundred pieces of land highly decorated with large and beautiful edifices, shaded by numerous gardens of mango, cocoanut, plantain, and several other trees, after having the gifts inscribed on copper-plates." These accounts show what a mighty, constitutional, liberal-hearted and charitable king Bhānudēva was. Several inscriptions of his time, incised on stone slabs, have been recently published²⁰⁵ and they throw considerable new light on the social and religious conditions of the times. Drākshārām Insc. No. 1084 records that, in Śaka year 1196 or A. D. 1274, the *Paṭṭa-mahishi* or royal consort of *Gogajhaṭapati* Vira Bhānudēva constructed a *Maṇḍapam* or Hall in the temple of Bhīmēśvara. No. 1106 records the gifts of a Pandaya Raja who was the Viceroy or *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of Parischēdi country near Chilka Lake. Srikūrmam inscription No. 1233, dated Ś. 1193 or A. D. 1271, records the fact that

204 J. A. S. Beng. Part 1, No. 3—1896, pp. 229—272.

205 Two inscriptions, found in the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharamam in East Godavari District, were published in 1924 in S.I. inscriptions Vol. IV as Nos 1084 and 1106 and five found in Srikurmam temple in S. I. inscriptions Vol. V in 1926 as Nos. 1233, 1235, 1236, 1251 and 1252 and five found in Simhachalam temple in S. I. Inscriptions Vol. VI in 1928 as Nos. 712, 719, 720, 845 and 1218.

Bhānudeva's Minister granted the village of Konna (modern Korni in Ganjam District) for the welfare of the king and for *Nivedyam* (offering) to God of Śrīkūrmam. It is also stated that the same gift was made, by order of the king's protegee, the Sage Narahari Tīrtha, to 15 Brahmins (Vaishṇava Nāyakās). Some of them were holding offices like *Sthānāpati* (Head of the Temple), *Upādhyāya* (Teacher), *Purāṇapāṭhakā* (Reciter of Purāṇās), *Śasanādhikāri* (Keeper of royal orders) and *Śenādhiśvara* (Head of the army). The Sage himself presented into the Treasury of God the village of Kudupi which was once given but lost. No. 1235 records that a *śāmantā* (Vassal of the king) named Rāma *Pasāyati* endowed God with a perpetual lamp in Ś. 1197 or A.D. 1275. No. 1236, dated Ś. 1199, records the gift, by a certain *Sisṭhudeva Rauta* of certain lands and cash for the God. Nos. 1251 and 1252 dated Ś. 1186 or A. D. 1264 record the gift of 3 *Māḍas* or *Nishkas* by Narahari Tīrtha for feeding Vaishṇava Brahmins, on the occasion of Srijayanti festival for the happy delivery of Śrīkrishṇa by Dēvakidēvi. We learn from these inscriptions that the coin *Māḍa* is the Telugu form of the Sanskrit word *Nishka*. Similarly, we learn that *Gaṇḍamāḍa* is the Telugu form of *Kurshapana*.

Simhāchellam Inscription No 712 records the important fact that a prince of the Matsya Dynasty of Oḍḍādi called Ananta Jiyyanna possessed several titles of which the most significant one is *Gaṅga vamsa nidroha dhavola Maṇḍalika* (Governor who is pure by his non-treachery to the Gaṅga Dynasty). In Śaka year 1196 or A.D. 1274, he gave, towards certain offerings to God Narasimhanātha, a village in Jambiya *nādu*. No. 719 is also a very important record. It is dated in Śaka year 1200 or A.D. 1278 which is mentioned, in the same record, as equal to 18th *anka* year or 15th ruling year of the king who is styled Anantavarma PratāpaVīra Śrī Bhānudeva. It mentions that, during the *Kalinga pariksha* (inspection) of Vijayadēvapadi Raya and on the occasion of *Deepava i* festival, a certain Allaḷa Nāyaka, being devoted to God Nṛsimha gave towards the burning of a perpetual lamp in honour of him, 47 cows to Errabōya and Lakshmana Kōṇāri who should enjoy the same and feed the lamp with ghee. He also gave, towards the cost of a metal lamp and other articles 12 Gaṇḍamāḍas and it appears that a Gaṇḍamāḍa was a gold coin worth about half a Pagoda. No. 720 belongs probably to the same king. It is dated in the 8th *Samasta* or *anka* or 6th regnal year of Vīra Śrī Bhānudeva. It is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu *lipi*. It records the endowment to God Nṛsimha of various articles for his worship, made during the regimes of Bhuvanānanda and Pariharānanda, who are styled *Kalingadandapāṭa parikshas*, *Muhāpātras* and *Sandhivigrahas*. Evidently, these two donors were high military officers serving under the king in Odradēśa. No. 845 dated Ś. 1195 belongs also to the reign of this

king and gives very interesting facts. Two ministers called Dāru *Pradhāni* and Purushotti *Pradhāni* (minister) of the village of Peddarinda in Chōḍanādu *raṭṭu viśaya* confirmed the grant of a village, made already by their grandfathers in the time of Rāja Rājādēva, for the offerings and worship of God Nṛsimha. Chingamanāyaka was named the executor of the grant and he and others were given certain *prasādams* (gifts) daily for their services to God. It is not exactly known as to which Rāja Rāja is referred to here but probably it is Rāja Rāja III who ruled from A. D. 1211 to 1238 who would be the contemporay of their grand-fathers. No. 1213 is dated in Śaka year 1187 which is said to be equal to the 3rd *anka* or 2nd ruling year of Anantavarma Śrī Vīra Bhānudēva I. From this, it is clear that he came to the throne in Ś. 1186 or A.D. 1264. It is a record of the illustrious Vallabha, son of Komma *Pradhāni* (minister). He is styled *Sāhosa mahāmalla* (the bold and the great fist-fighter) and Lord of Kemdideśa. (*Kimidi*). He made the gift of the village of Poram along with its forest region situated in Bobbili-varadārapu *viśaya* to God Nṛsimha for the success and long life of the king and appointed Chiṅgama Nāyaka as the executor of the grant and gave him two *puṭṭis* of land (16 acres) in the same village for his services. He ordained that the daily offerings, worship and other services to the God should be conducted regularly and fixed the items for the same such as sandal, camphor, ghee, fruits, flowers and puddings of various sorts and desired that after worship, they should all be divided among all the Nāyaks for their use.

Narahari Tīrtha and Kalinga Country.

Several stone inscriptions relating to this great religious Teacher as well as his followers have been discovered in the Sreekūrmam and Simhāchalam Temples and long ago noticed in the *Ann. Reports of the Ep. Dept.* and recently published in *S.I. Inscriptions Vols. V and VI*. From these, we learn that Narahari *Tīrtha* was the disciple of Ananda *Tīrtha* who was the disciple of Purushōttama *Mahā Tīrtha* and that he lived from the Saka year 1186 to 1215 in Kalingadesa. It would appear that he had a disciple called Jagannātha *Tīrtha* who lived in the Śaka year 1295 or A.D. 1373 in Kalingadesa and who spread the Madhwa faith.

Kalinga country was ruled by the Eastern Gaṅga king Bhānudēva I from A. D. 1264 to 1278 and then by his son Nṛsimha II from A. D. 1278-79 to 1305-06 and during their reigns Narahari *Tīrtha* lived and preached in Kalinga. Inscription No. 1233 (*S.I.I. Vol. 1*) states that the village of Khonna (Korni), mentioned in Anantavarma Chodaganga's C.P. grants dated Ś 1034 and 1040, was granted to 15 Vaishnavite Brahmins by order of Narahari *Muni* (sage), the protege of king Bhānudēva. Inscription No. 1252, dated Śaka 1186 or A.D. 1264, states that Narahari

Tīrtha granted for his good luck to God Sreekūrmanātha, on the occasion of Jayanti celebrations and for the happy delivery of Devaki Dēvi certain valuable gifts. He seems to have enjoyed the special favour of king Bhānūdēva of Kalinga. The names, Bhānu or Sūrya and Narasimha taken up by the kings of Kalinga from the middle of 13th century, suggest vaishnavite influence and while the kings who ruled over Kalingadesa before Narasimha I and Bhānūdēva I were ardent Saivites, they and their successors, till the end of the dynasty in 1434, were ardent Vaishnavites and so became the Royal Patrons of Narahari *Tīrtha* and his disciples as well as other Madhwa *Gurus*. This religious change came about in the 13th and 14th centuries and it would appear from tradition as well as the temple inscriptions that Narahari *Tīrtha* was greatly responsible for the spread of this faith in Kalingadesa. No. 1288, dated Śaka 1204 and belonging to the 7th *anka* or 5th actual ruling year of Nṛsimha II, states that Narahari *Tīrtha* was employed as a *Maṇḍalika* or Provincial Governor and that, in his presence, certain gifts were made for Sreekūrmanātha. This statement is supported by literature also. An inscription No. 1172, dated Śaka 1215 or A.D. 1293, records that Narahari, the disciple of Ananda, set up the images of ŚrīRāmanātha, SeetāParamēśvari and Sri-Lakshmanādēvara in Sreekurmam and endowed for the God's worship (towards flowers and sandal) in Srikurmanātha's treasury 51 Gaṇḍa mādas 16 Kalaśapāṇas and other utensils and 19 *Sarees*. No. 1249, dated Ś. 1215 or A.D. 1293, records certain gifts of the sage to Srikūrmanātha.

Several inscriptions relating to this great religious Teacher are also found in the Simhachalam temple and they are all published recently in S. I. I. Vol. VI. An inscription No. 965 belonging to the year 1291 A. D. records a gift of the sage to Simhādrinātha, the God of Simhagiri. Another, No. 943 dated A. D. 1292, records that Oddādi Jayanti Rāja of Matsya dynasty gave a gift to the God in the presence of the great sage. An inscription No. 1025 dated A. D. 1373 refers to the existence of a Naraharimaṭham and certain gifts being made to it by Jagannadha Tīrtha, a disciple of Narahari. Commenting on the Sreekūrmam inscription of Narahari Tīrtha, viz, No. 1171 dated Ś. 1203, the late H. Krishnaśastry has stated in *Ep. Indica Vol. VI, pp. 260-68*:—“Purushōttama *Mahā Tīrtha* compiled *Bhāshyam*. His disciple, Ananda *Tīrtha* who had the titles of *Bhagavat Pāda* (Holy Feet of Vishnu) and *Acharya* (Teacher) compiled in accordance with the principles of Dvaita Philosophy a commentary on Vyāsa Sūtras according to *Dvaitamata Siddhāntam*. His disciple, Narahari Tīrtha was the Governor of Kalinga and protected it against the invasion of the Sabaras or Sāvaras. In A.D. 1281, he got constructed a temple for Yōgānanda Nṛsimha opposite to Sreekūrmam Temple.” All these learned Teachers spread the Dvaita School of Philosophy in Kalinga and Andhra countries.

The *Madhwa Vijaya Kāvya* of Narayan Pandit and the *Narahariyati Stōtram* give the facts contained in the following account:—Narahari *yati*, before he professed the Mādhwa cult, was known as Śāmaśāstry. After being initiated by Madhwāchārya *Pārnapragjña*, which is another name for Ananda Tirtha, he was instructed by him to go to the Gajapati Emperor of Kalinga and obtain from him the images of Sita and Rama. Hence, he reached the Kalinga capital and acted as Regent to the boy-king Narasimha II for 12 years and after re-instating him on the throne, obtained as his reward the images he desired and placed them in the hands of his Guru. It is said that Ananda *Tīrtha* and after him, Padmanabha *Tīrtha* and after him, Narahari worshipped these images. Narahari toured throughout the country spreading the Madhwa cult and finally died on the banks of the River Tungabhadra where a Chakra Tirtha Maṭham or Monastery was built by him. He was succeeded by Madhwa Tīrtha. His Kalinga Regency evidently came to an end long before A.D. 1324 when he actually became the Head of the Monastery and his death took place nine years after it in 1333 A.D.

There is no doubt that he lived in the reigns of Narasimhadēva I, Bhānudēva I and Narasimhadēva II and took the leading part in introducing the Madhwa cult into Kalinga and Andhra countries,

Summing up, it is clear, from the Śrīkurmam inscription No. 1290 that Narasimha *Mahāmuni* (the great Sage) reached Kalingam before Saka year 1152 or A.D. 1230 during the reign of Ananṅga Bhīmadēva III (A.D. 1211—1238) and converted the king and the people into his faith. Several Nāyaks in the Ganjam District swore in the presence of the king and the Sage that they would confer the enjoyment of Ponnadiya and Bomtalakota villages on the god of Śrīkurmam No. 1291 dated Ś. 1168 records a gift of the same sage. As a result of the introduction of this new faith, we find most of the inscriptions of the dynasty, from this time onwards, incised on the walls of vaishnavite temples such as Simhāchellam and Śrīkūrma and most of the grants of lands and cash being made over to the Vaishnavite Gods and Brahmins unlike before. Further, it is interesting to note that the kings who followed Ananṅga Bhīmadēva III came to be called after Vaishnavite Gods like Nṛsimha and Bhānu and actually temples came to be built for these Gods. We have got two Bhānu or *Arka* or Surya temples at Arasavilli near Śrīkūrma and Konārka in Cuttack Division. It is known that the Simhāchellam and other temples were built for the god of Nṛsimha. A Simhāchellam Insc. No. 1142 dated Ś. 1190 states that, by order of Nṛsimha I, several structures of stone (still standing in the Simhāchellam Temple) were constructed by his Commander Akhtaye. Till the end of the Gaṅga Line, we get a Nṛsimha followed by a Bhānu and both are names of Vishṇu. This change is known to have taken

place on account of the advent of Narasimha Yati, from A. D. 1230. A certain Vāsudeva Yati succeeded him and after him, Narahari Tīrtha entered Kalingadesa and conferred various gifts on the Gods of Srikūrmam and Simhāchalam Temples and this example was followed by the royal house, the princes and the people. Thus, during the 13th and 14th centuries, the Madhwa cult spread in Kalinga. From the Sreekūrmam²⁰⁶ and Simhāchalam²⁰⁷ Temple inscriptions, it is also clear that a certain Narasimha Bhāratimuni endowed certain grants during the Saka years 1278 to 1287 and his disciple Vāsudēva Bhārati endowed a grant in Śaka year 1310 and his disciple, Rāghava Bhārati made a grant in Śaka year 1312. These three religious Teachers really continued the work of Narahari in Kalinga country and Narahari himself, as stated already, continued the work first begun by Narasimha Mahāmuni (great sage) in Śaka year 1152 or A. D. 1230. Thus, for over 60 years, the several Teachers preached the Madhwa cult and converted princes and people to it. What Rāmānujāchāri was to South India in the 11th century, these Madhwāchāries were to the Kalinga and Andhra countries in the 13th and 14th centuries and their work was continued by Rāmānanda and Kabir in Northern India in the 14th and 15th centuries and later on by Chaitanya in Bengal and Orissa in the 16th century.

9. *Narasimhadēva II A.D. 1278-79—1305-06*

The history of this reign is known to us from Sreekūrmam²⁰⁸ and Simhachalam²⁰⁹ Temple inscriptions, several C. P. Grants²¹⁰ and the Muhammadan work *Ta'rikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*.²¹¹

Sreekurmam Inscription No. 1150 belongs to Śaka year 1212 which is said to be equal to the king's 14th *anka* or 12th actual ruling year. So, the king must be regarded as having come to the throne in Ś. 1200-1 or A. D. 1278-79. It records the gift, by Mahāpātra Brāhmaṇa Das Pandit or Pandit Das, the best of the Brahmins and the first among the Ministers, on the occasion of *Brahma Veena Svasti* to the God, of some *Mādas* for making puddings to be offered to God and 8 *Mādas* for feeding two people who recite *Svasti*. The coins were deposited in the Treasury of the God - a custom followed in all the Temples by all the Donors. No. 1151 is dated Ś. 1227 and belongs to

206. No. 1313 in S. I. I. Vol. V.

207. Nos. 859, 860, 861, 889, 892, 894 in S. I. I. Vol VI.

208 Nos. 1150, 1151, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1185, 1190, 1204, 1217, 1238, 1244, 1245, 1249 and 1288 in S.I.I. Vol. V.

209 Nos. 713, 719, 901, 928, 935, 936, 940, 941, 943, 949, 957, 965, 982, 975, 976, 982, 1118, 1137, 1140, 1179, 1197, 1199, in S.I.I. Vol. VI.

210 J.A.S.B. Vol. LXV pp. 229-271 and Vol. LXXII, p. 127.

211 Translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. III.

the 33rd *anka* or 27th actual ruling year of the king who is styled *Anantavarma Pratāpavīra* Śrī Nara Nārasimha Dēva. It records the gift, by Mahāpātra Śrī Vāsudēva Jiyyana, for the benefit of his long life, of land measuring three *Tūmus* for a flower garden and three *Pandums* for the gardeners for their upkeep, so that they might daily present a flower-garden to God Kūrmēśvara. Nos. 1171 and 1172, as stated already²¹² refer to the gifts of Narahari *Tīrtha* who is described as the disciple of the Holy Feet of Ananda *Tīrtha*. No. 1172 expressly states that in Śaka year 1215 or A.D. 1293, Narahari set up the images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in Śrīkūrmam and endowed 51 Gaṇḍa Mādas for their daily worship, flowers and sandal. The money was deposited in the Temple Treasury. Further, several articles required for the daily worship of God Śrī Rama were also supplied. No. 1171 gives the list of the religious Teachers or *Gurus*.

According to *Narahari Yati Stotra*, Narahari acted as Regent of the Gajapati king for 12 years and then retired taking with him the images of Rama, and Sita. It was already shown how Narahari lived in Kalinga from the first year of Bhānu's reign if not earlier. It is clear from the present inscription that he remained in Kalinga till Ś. 1215. It is also definitely known from Śrīkūrmam insc. No. 1288 dated Ś. 1204 or A. D. 1282 that he was the Governor of Kalinga in the 5th reigning year of Narasima II. It therefore follows that the Sage spent nearly 30 years in Kalinga and not 12 years as stated in the work quoted above. But there can be no doubt either about his acting as Governor of Kalinga during the minority of Narasimha II or taking away the images of Rama and Sita when he finally left the country for his own. No. 1173 belongs to the king's 34 *anka* or 28th actual ruling year which is really his last year of rule. It corresponds to A. D. 1306. In that year, the king's official, Śrīśekhara Jiyya who had the titles of *Kalinga Pariksha Śrīkarana Paṭṭanāyudu* and *Pātra* endowed God Kūrmēśvara with two white *Chāmaras* (fans). No. 1177, dated Ś. 1205, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍa Mādas for the burning of a perpetual lamp by the wife of Narasimha *Mahābhakta*, a teacher. The grant is to be protected by Śrīviṣṇu of Tirupati showing that by the 13th century, Tirupati already became a famous Vaishṇavite centre which provided religious teachers and worshippers to the temples in Kalingadēsa, No. 1178 dated Ś. 1211 belongs to the king's 14th *anka* or 12th actual ruling year and records the gift of a certain Nārāyana *manchi* of Oddādi for a perpetual lamp in the Temple. No. 1179 dated Ś. 1205 also records the gift of 5 Mādas for a perpetual lamp by Narasimha

Bhaṭṭopādhyāya for the increase of his devotion and knowledge. He is said to have performed all kinds of sacrifices and enjoyed utmost regard at the hands of Ananga Bhīmadēva III, the great grand-father of this king. No. 1185, dated Ś. 1214 and equal to the 14th ruling year of the king, records the gifts of a certain Permmāndi *Peggada* of 15 *Mōḍālu* (cows) and 30 sheep for a perpetual lamp to be burnt before God. No. 1190, dated Ś. 1214, records several gifts of Gaṁgāmba, the wife of king Nṛsimha, which consist of 15 cows for offering milk to God and several kinds of articles for offering light, worship, puddings, etc and 36 Malla Mādas for offering *prasādam* to 3 people. No. 1204 dated Ś. 1219 belongs to the king's 23rd *anka* or 19th actual ruling year and records various gifts to the God by *Bhujabala Bhīma Garuḍa Nārāyaṇa* Dēva Paḍi Rāya. To meet the cost of the offerings, a sum of 40 Gaṇḍa Mādas was endowed and a field was set apart for the same. In addition to preparing *pāyasam* and burning a perpetual lamp, 50 *Mōḍas* (cows) were also given. It was ordained that God's *Prasādam* (gift) should be distributed to these Officers:-Vaishṇava Nāyaks, Local Heads, Nambiyars, Gangādhara Pandit, Kālinga Nāyaks, Sṛikaraṇas, Scholars and Pātros. No. 1217 dated Ś. 1212 belongs to the king's 15th *anka* or 13th actual ruling year and records certain gifts to the God by Prolu Jiyyanna, son of the Governor of Chikati. No. 1238 dated Ś. 1201 belongs to the 3rd *anka* or 2nd actual ruling year of the king and this proves that he ascended the throne in Ś. 1200 or A.D. 1278. It records the gift of 4 *Tūmus* of garden land to the God by Babbi, the great commander of the king and 1½ *Puttis* of land to the gardeners so that they might enjoy the same and supply flowers to the God daily. No. 1244 is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu characters. It belongs to the 33rd *anka* or 27th actual ruling year i.e., the last but one year of the king's rule. It records the gifts of certain lands and 12 Padmanidhi Gaṇḍa Mādas by *Kalingamaju GaṁḍuSāhasaMaṇḍalika* to the God during the regime of *Kalingaparīksha Mahāpātra* Gaṁgādhara dāsa. No. 1245 dated Ś. 1215 belongs to the 18th *anka* or 15th actual ruling year of the king. It records the gift of 50 sheep for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple by a certain *Kalingadaḷavāgu Mahāmaṇḍalika*. No. 1249 dated Ś. 1215 belongs to the king's 18th *anka* or 15th actual ruling year and records the gifts of 5 *Gaṁḍa māḍas* for various kinds of offerings and puddings to be presented to the God. No. 1288 dated Ś. 1204 belongs to the king's 7th *anka* or 5th actual ruling year and this also confirms the fact that he ascended the throne in Śaka year 1200 or A.D. 1278. Since the Simhachalam inscription No. 719 states that Śaka year 1200 is equal to the 18th *anka* or 15th actual ruling year of Bhānudēva I and since he is known from the C.P. Grants of later kings to have ruled for 15 years, we learn that that year was the last of Bhānudēva I and first of Nṛsimha II. It records certain gifts of Narasimha *Maṇḍalika* (Governor) to the God in the presence of Narahari Tīrtha.

Coming now to Simhāchalam inscriptions, we get No. 713, dated Ś. 1207, which refers to a certain Gaṅga Rāja of Jantarunādu who belonged to Surabhi *kula* (clan) and who made the gift of 5 *Mādas* for the increase of his *Rājyam* or kingdom. It is not exactly known whether he was a subordinate of this Gaṅga Emperor of Kalinga but from the fact that he made the gift for Narahari *Bhavanam* and ruled over a part of Kalinga, we may presume that he was a vassal of the Gaṅga king Nṛsimha II. Several inscriptions of this family have come to light and will be described separately.

Inscription No. 904, is dated Śaka year 1213, which is said to be equal to the 15th *anka* or 13th actual ruling year of the king who is styled *Anantavarma* and *Protāpavīra*. It is an important inscription containing 33 lines of matter, of which 18 contain 15 Sanskrit *ślokas* or verses and 15 the Telugu versions of the same. It records the following gifts by a certain Nārāyana *Senāpati* who was the son of Gōpāla *mahāśenāpati* and who was *Kalingadēsa parīksha*:— 140 Gaṇḍa *Mādas* for a Gold necklace set with diamonds for the God; 70 *Mōdas* (cows) for two perpetual lamps; 3 *Nibhandas* for two Brahmins to recite Vēdic hymns; 5 *Nibhandas* for three Brahmins to recite *Purāṇa Vyākaraṇa Kāvya Nāṭa-kābhidhānas*; 2 *Nibhandas* for the heads of the Choultry and Maṭham; 2 *Nibhandas* for two Brahmins who offer *Nivēdyam* of food to God; 5 *Nibhandas* for 2 songsters and 4 songstresses; and 4 *Nibhandas* for two gardeners who supply flowers daily to God from the garden purchased for the purpose; and 3 *Nibhandas* for other services; in all 24 *Nibhandas*. The value of a *Nibandha* of land is not known but it must be more than that of a *Gaṇḍa-Māda* or *Gaṇḍa-Nishka*. In addition to the above, the Donor purchased a field behind the temple for 4 *Māḍas* and built a Maṭham or *Bhājyasatra sadanam* (House to serve as feeding-choultry) for feeding daily 30 Brahmins and gave several *Māḍas* for its up-keep.

The Grants were made by the great Commander of the king on *Vaisākha Purnami* day, when the *Nijasvarūpam* or true image of the God will be exposed to the public, for the increase of his long life, health and wealth. The grant was made for the increased safety of the royal power established in Kalinga *vishaya*. In the first verse itself, the several good qualities of the king are described. King Nṛsimha is said to possess very great fame, prowess and grandeur, toleration and sympathy omniscience based on profound learning, bold and victorious career and charitable disposition. In the second verse, the Donor is described as the fittest person to bear the burden of ruling the whole kingdom and as the lord of the earth. The fact that he donated such liberal gifts shows that he was rich, powerful and learned. The rich and varied gifts made to the God show his extreme devotion. Similarly, the distribution of costly

treasure among the several learned Pandits shows his patronising spirit and taste for learning. His institution of a free feeding-choultry shows his charitable disposition. His praise of the king and his making the grants for the increased safety of the realm show his devotion and loyalty to the throne. In fact, the Donor is imbued with true feelings of adoration towards God, devotion to the Crown and patriotism for the Country. There were several such Donors in the Kalinga Empire at that time as proved by the several inscriptions found in the Temples.

No. 928, dated Ś. 1213, belongs to the king's 15th *anka* or 13th actual ruling year and records the gift of 100 sheep to two *Boyas* (shepherds) for burning perpetually two lamps in the temple by a certain Nāgu, who was the *Kalinga Daṭṭa* (Commander) and *Mahāmaṇḍalika* (Great Governor), on the occasion of *Karkāṭaka Samkrānti* (Summer solstice). The king has the titles of *Anantavarma* and *Pratāpavīra*.

No. 935, dated Ś. 1289, belongs to the king's 23rd *anka* or 19th actual ruling year and records the gifts of 25 *Mōdas* each by Dhārmāyī *Sēnapati* who had the title of *Nirbhaya malla* (One who is fearless in fist battles) and who was the son of Babbi *Mahāsēnapati* and by his wife Pārvaṭi *Nāyakāni* for the burning of two perpetual lights. The gifts were made on the occasion of *Karkāṭaka Samkrānti* (Summer solstice) for his merit, health, wealth and increase of progeny. The king is styled *Anantavarma* and *Pratāpavīra* Sri Narasimha.

No. 936 is dated Ś. 1202. It records a grant of *Pratirāja* or *paḍirāya* (viceroy) Vāsudēva, son of Rāyavallabha *Mahāsēnāpati* (Commander-in-chief) which consists of 32 *Mallas* or Chinnams for 2 *Nibandhas* to God. No. 937 dated Ś. 1214 records the gift, for a perpetual lamp, of Arjunadēva Mahārāja of Oddādi Matsya family which seems to be a subordinate ruling power under the control of the Gaṅga kings. The grant was made for the merit of his deceased brother Annama Rāja.

No. 940 is an Oriya inscription written in Telugu characters. It belongs to the 13th *anka* or 11th actual ruling year of the king and records the gifts of two villages to the God by *Kalinga pariksha* and *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Jōgēśwaradēva.

No. 941, dated Ś. 1221, belongs to the king's 25th *anka* or 21st actual ruling year and records the gifts of a Sage called Varadagiri on *Karkāṭaka Samkrānti* day. They consist of 6 *Nibandhas* for dancing girls to sing at the time of the morning and evening services to God and 4 *Nibandhas* for supplying flower garlands to the God. The inscription mentions the usual titles of the king, viz, *Anantavarma* and *Pratāpavīra*. It also mentions that Jnānānanda Bhaṭṭāraka was the *prasishyu* of the Sage Varadagiri.

No. 943, dated Ś. 1214, belongs to Jayanta-Rāja, son of Oddādi Matsya Chief Arjuna and records the gift of a flower garden to the God for supplying daily flowers to him. It was made in the presence of Narahari Tirtha, the Governor of Kalinga and the religious *Guru* of the King.

No. 949, dated Ś. 1208, records the grant on the occasion of *Nāga Panchami*, of a lamp-stand and 80 sheep for a perpetual lamp to God by a certain Dappa Bhujanga. No. 957 dated Ś. 1219 belongs to the king's 23rd *anka* or 19th actual ruling year and records the grant of 25 *Mādas* for the burning of a perpetual lamp and one Gaṇḍamāda or Nishka for a lamp-stand by Kāmāndi Amma, a Dravida woman of Kaluvachēru in Tālādi *viśaya* or *nālu* (District). No. 965, dated Ś. 1212, records a grant by Narahari Tirtha, on the occasion of *Ardhōḥaya Amāvāsya* (New Moon) and solar eclipse, for the increase of his long life, fame and merit. The grant consisted of 25 cows and 150 sheep for the burning of 4 perpetual lamps in the presence of the God. No. 975 records the gifts of certain lands on the occasion of *Mēsha Samkrānti* by the Matsya king of Oddādi named Mānkāditya Dēvarāja alias Srīrangavardhana, younger brother of Arjuna alias Nṛsimhavardhana who was the son of Jayanta Rāja. These Matsya kings of Oddādi ruled in the Agency parts of the Visag District subordinate to the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga. A detailed account of them will be given separately. No. 976, dated Ś. 1220, records the gifts of some lands by Jayantika, son of Mānkāditya of Oddadi Matsyavarṇa to God Nṛsimha for the welfare of his kingdom. Several of these Matsya Princes were also devoted to the holy feet of Narahari Tirtha and his disciples. No. 982, dated Ś. 1218, belongs to the king's 22nd *anka* or 18th actual ruling year and records a grant of Narāyan *Pradhāni* (Minister) who was also the royal Treasurer (*Bhāṇḍākāri*) on the occasion of *Vishu Samkrānti*. The grant consists of two flower-gardens to the God and four Gaṇḍamādas for the offerings. These grants were supplemented by an additional grant of land bought for 2 *Mādas*. The grant of a *Nibhandam* (land) for reciting *Puruṣa-sāktām* before God by the father-in-law of the Donor named Surepeddi is also recorded in the end. The usual titles of the king, viz., *Anantavarma* and *Pratāpavīra* are also mentioned. In the two opening *slokas* (verses) King Nṛsimha is praised as one, whose feet are resplendent with the lustre shed by the precious stones set in the crowns of all vassal kings, who is born in the illustrious Gaṅga family, who is styled the powerful Nṛsimha, who is the crest-jewel of all kings and who is lofty by the grandeur caused by prowess, magnanimity and peerless and profound learning.

No. 1118, dated Ś. 1203, belongs to the king's 3rd *anka* or 2nd actual ruling year. This shows that he ascended the throne in Ś.

1202 or A. D. 1179-80. The king has the titles of *Anantavarma* and *Vīra srī Naranārasimha Rāutadēvara*. The present grant is a confirmation of an old one, made by *Pōtāmkuśadēva* consisting of 2 villages viz. Kodur and Jammu in the District of Pārutalagam. It was made by several officers of the king, on the occasion of *Akṣhatritīya*, for the welfare of the kingdom of the Gaṅgavarṁśa kings and for God's worship. The Donors were (1) Chikati *Dēśādhipikāri* or Lord of Chikati (in Ganjam District) who was styled *Chalamelluganḍa* (2) Ananta Jiyyana, the Gaṅgavarṁśa *amātya* (Minister) (3) Madhusūdana *padirāya* (Vice-gerent) (4) Nārāyana *Senāpati* (Commander) (3 and 4 were both called Narasimhapura *Majjis*.) (5) Vaidu *Senāpati* (6) Jinnayi *Maṇḍalika* (Governor) and (7) Kōshtakaraṇa *Maṇḍala Nāyakas*. In addition to the two villages in Chikati or Pārutalagam District, three more villages in Bobbili Estate, viz. Madhupāḍa, Pōram and Kindanapalli, were also given to the God. Considering that the grant was made in the very second ruling year of the king and several ruling chiefs and highly placed officials took part in the same, we must note that devotion and loyalty were truly shown to the Gaṅga Emperor in a practical way and religion also played most prominent part in shaping the same.

No. 1137, dated Ś. 1212, belongs also to king Nṛsimha's reign. The king is called Narahari Nṛpati. His great qualities are extolled in the first verse. He is compared to Dēvēndra for fame, lustre, prowess and greatness. He is said to shine by bringing out Nectar from the Ocean of Gaṅga family. He is the blessed and illustrious Narahari Nṛpati or king Nṛsimha of bright fame. He is the Mountain, piled up by knowledge, good qualities etc. The second and third verses state that the best of Brahmins was Antaranga *Mahāpātra* who bore the heavy burden of ruling the Eastern *Rājyam*, who was courageous, learned and full of good qualities; who was the good son of Rāmadēva *Arya* and who was born in Vatsa *Gotra*, who was the servant of learned pandits and the very moon to the lotuses of learning. He gave, for his own good fortune, health, fame, brightness and increase of progeny, in Śaka year 1212, into the Treasury of the God, 20 Gaṇḍa Nishkas (Mādas) for the sake of singing verses in praise of God by 4 dancing girls. 12 ladies also granted 10 *Puṭṭis* of land for giving a *Tāmbūlam* (Betel-offering) daily to God.

No. 1140, dated Śaka 1215, belongs to the king's 18th *anka* or 15th actual ruling year and records the grant, by Vallabha Nambiar for the merit of his parents, of 2 Gaṇḍamādas, on the occasion of *Akshaya Tritīya*, to God for his puddings and 1 Māda for offering Sandal and camphor to God. No. 1179, dated Ś. 1228, belongs to the king's son's 3rd *anka* or 2nd actual ruling year showing thereby that Śaka year 1227 or A. D. 1305 is the last of Nṛsimha's and first of his son's. No. 1197

dated Ś. 1218, records the gifts of a fan and a lamp to burn perpetually in honour of the God, by 100 ladies for the increase of king's life and fame. It is the only record of the kind where such a large number of women gave gifts in honour of the king. They seem to be the servants of the king. No. 1199, dated Ś. 1129, records the gift of a lamp to be burnt perpetually and a *Putti* of land to support the same by Ballu *Pradhāni* (Minister), on the occasion of *Karkaṭa Samkrānti* for the welfare of his parents.

Three C. P. Grants of this king, called *The Kēndupatna Plates*, were published by N. N. Vasu, two dated Ś. 1217 and 1218 in *Viśvakosa*, Vol. V, p. 321 and the third dated Ś. 1217 in *J.A.S. Beng No. 3 for 1896*. These three Plates differ in some respects from the two Puri Plates of Nṛsimha IV, dated Śaka years 1305 and 1316, published in J.A.S.B. for 1895, part I, pp. 133-144. While the two latter Plates give 33 and 17 years respectively to Nṛsimhadēva I and Virabhānudeva I, the three former give 34 and 18 years. There are also other minor differences but otherwise, there is close agreement between the verses found in the first 4 Puri Plates of Nṛsimhadēva IV and the first 4½ Kēndupatna Plates of Nṛsimhadēva II. From the Plates published in J.A.S.B. (1896), we learn that he was the valorous and illustrious son of Bhānudeva and Jākalladēvi of Chalukya family. He is called the Saviour of the Gaṅga dynasty. He was skilful in handling weapons of war and gave 100 Grants to learned Brahmins in obedience to his mother. The vassal kings paid homage while the enemies took refuge in the hills. His rule was so strong and successful that peace and plenty reigned everywhere. He fought several battles with the help of his elephants and gained success by dispersing the enemy with his sword. "He was fierce by reason of his sword and violently robbing the hostile kings of their immense wealth equal to that of the *Kalpātaru*, presented them to Brahmanas, with his sprout-like hands which were as ornaments of the earth, and shone beautifully wetted by the water of charity. He placed his lotus feet upon the heads of all kings of his time.....Being resolute, his prowess never received any check."

In Śaka year 1217 or A.D. 1295, equal to his 21st *anka* or 17th regnal year, this lord of the 14 worlds (*Chaturdaśa Bhuvanādhipati*) camping in the city of Rēmuṇa, at the merry time of a new conquest, in order to grant 50 *vāṭikas* of land, out of several pieces of land set apart by Hali Prahāda Mudala for granting to pious Brahmanas, gave to Kumāra Mahāpātra Bhīmadēva Śarman, a reader of Kāṇva branch of Yajurveda, the 2 villages of *Eḷāra* (modern Aimdare near Telanga) and *Suncila* (near Kēndupatna).

The first village was in *Dērā Viśhaya* (modern Darabee) and the second in *Svāṅga Viśhaya* (modern Sovang). The boundaries

of both the villages are given according to *Nala* measurement of *Sṛīkaraṇa* Sivadāsa. Out of the 42 *Vāṭikas*, 16 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭas* of land within the specified limits of the first village deducting 8 *Vāṭikas* and 9 *mānas* of land, as already granted to Gods and Brahmanas or comprising cow-grazing fields, ponds etc, the balance alone was granted. Similarly, out of the 33 *vāṭikas*, 13 *mānas* and 6 *guṇṭas* of the second village, deducting 10 *vāṭikas* and 12 *mānas* as already granted to Gods, Brahmanas and cows and deducting further 7 *vāṭikas*, 8 *mānas* and 18 *guṇṭas* for other purposes, the balance, alone was given. Thus, the 2 villages, together made up of 50 *vāṭikas* were granted tax-free and constituted into Gaṅga Narasimhapura *Agrahāram*.

The last portion of the Plates is devoted for the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. The king concludes by saying: "Of the future kings of this world, whether born in the dynasty of my own or any other king, whoever with mind unstained by vice maintains this my religious act, I bow before them with my palm held side by side and raised to the forehead."

The three sets of C. P. Grants of this king, discovered by N. N. Vasu in Kēndupaṭṇa in Cuttack District, consist of 7 plates each and contain on their seal lotus (*padmāsana*), the figure of an ox (*Nandi*) a tri-dent (*Tri-śūlo*), an elephant-goat (*Gajāñkusa*), a sound box (*Dāmaru*), a crescent and a solar orb. The Characters of the grants are Bengali of Kuṭīla type but some are said to resemble the early form of Utkalākshara. According to Mr. Beams, they are the earliest Oriya characters originating from the Kuṭīla characters of Central India. The language is Sanskrit.

The importance of these three Kēndupaṭṇa Plates as well as the two Puri Plates lies in the fact that the whole Genealogy of the E. Gaṅga Line from Vishṇu and Moon, Gāṅgēya and Parikshit, Kōlāhala-Anantavarma and Kāmārṇava upto the Donors of these Plates is given and detailed accounts of the kings from Vajrahasta III add significance. The Grants of Nṛsimha II were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in A. D. 1295 from the royal camp at Remunā in Balasore District, while he was merry with a new conquest on the enemy (probably the Mahamadans) near the Ganges. The donee was a Brahmin Vedic Scholar who was then holding the official rank of *Kumāra Mahāpātra*. The gift was probably made for religious as well as military purposes. The king made, to this same Brahmin Officer, Bhīmadēva Sarma, another grant of a village in A. D. 1296 from the royal camp at Ranhatt²¹³

It is thus clear, both from the C.P. Grants and the Stone inscriptions, that this king was one of the most powerful kings of the Gaṅga Dynasty who held several titles like *Vīra Nṛsimha*, *Vīra Srī Nṛsimha*, *Pratāpa Vīra Srī Nṛsimha*, *Anantavarma Pratāpa Vīra Srī Nṛsimha*, *Anantavarma Pratāpa Vīra Srī Nara Nārasimha* and *Chaturduśa Bhuvanādhipati* and who made innumerable rich grants to Gods, Temples, Scholars, Ministers and Religious Gurus. The Empire reached its zenith in his reign.

Some account of his relations with the Moslems of Bengal is known to us. Fifteen or sixteen years after Balban's succession to the throne of Dehli, i.e., in A. D. 1281-82, Tughril Khan, the Viceroy of Lakhnauti and Bengal rebelled. Soon after his appointment in 1274, he increased his power by attacking Jājnagar²¹⁴ or Tippera lying to the east of the River Brahmaputra and carrying away several elephants and valuables, he kept them for his own use. When he rebelled, Sultan Balban marched against him and so he left Lakhnauti and took the road to Jājnagar (Tippera) promising his followers that he would plunder the city after staying there for some time and return to Lakhnauti, rich and safe, after the Sultan retires. After taking Lakhnauti, Balban marched towards Jājnagar and on the way at Sunār-gānw, on a branch of the river Brahmaputra, entered into a treaty with the Raja of the place named Danuj Rai with a view to arrest Tughril. Soon after this event an advance party of soldiers, learning that he was close by and *intending next day to march into Jājnagar*, succeeded in arresting and beheading him.

These wars between the Sultans of Dehli and their Governors of Bengal gave freedom and peace to Orissa in the time of this king. It is probable that the Hindu Rulers of Lower Bengal appealed to the king for help against the invading Moslems and so he marched in A. D. 1296 to the River Ganges, as stated in the Kēndupatna Plates already described, and made the grants of two villages on the *vijaya samaye* (time of victory or conquest). This would suggest his following up the path of victory against the Moslems of Bengal which was already chalked out so successfully by his father and grand-father.

²¹⁴ Ziauddin Barni's Ta'rikh-i-Firoz Shāhī translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. III, pp. 112-113 and 116.17. Briggs, following Dow, identified it as the capital of Orissa and R. D. Banerji followed it. But Elliot and Dowson identified it rightly with Tippera. Evidently, there are 2 Jājnagarams. The late R. D. Banerji quite wrongly stated on p. 273 of his History of Orissa Vol. I that Tughril Khan invaded Orissa firstly in 1275 and secondly in 1282. But both these invasions were against Jājnagar or Tippera as stated correctly by Elliot and Dowson.

10. *Bhānudeva II.* (1306-7—1328)

An account of his reign is known to us from the Pūri Plates of Nṛsimha dēva IV²¹⁵, his own Pūri Plates newly discovered,²¹⁶ four Stone Inscriptions found in Śrīkūrmam Temple²¹⁷ and five in Simhāchalam Temple²¹⁸ and *Tārīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāh* translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol III, pp. 234 and 236.

He was the son and successor of Nṛsimha dēva II being born to his wife Chōḍa Mahādēvi. He ruled for 24 years according to the Pūri Plates of Nṛsimha IV. His own Pūri plates contain his grant of two villages, made in his presence at Purushōttama Kaṭaka or Puri on the bank of the Southern Ocean to his Foreign Secretary Rangadāsa Sarma. They give the full Geneology of E. Gaṅga Line from the Moon to the Donor and resemble those of Kēṇḍupatna of Nṛsimha II. The grant is dated Śaka year 1234 or A. D. 1312 which is said to be equal to the 7th *anka* or 5th actual ruling year of Purushōttamadēva.

Vīra Srīmat Bhānu Dēva Rauta is also mentioned as the reigning king. Because two different names of the same king are mentioned in the same Plates, both B. C. Muzumdar²¹⁹ and R. D. Banerji²²⁰ went wrong in their Chronology of this reign. While the former scholar stated that Purushōttama Dēva, coming between Nṛsimha II and Bhānu II, ruled from A.D. 1305 to 1312, the latter regarded him as a *usurper* "who kept Bhānudeva II virtually a prisoner in the interior of his palace at Pūri," and also stated that the *usurpation* did not last beyond his 7th *anka* i.e., A. D. 1312.

Now, if we examine carefully the several stone inscriptions of the time of this king, written in Telugu characters and mostly found in the temples of Sreekūrmam and Simhāchalam, we clearly learn that the king Bhānudeva or Pratapa Vira Bhānudeva possessed several titles like *Dēvādideva*, *Purushottamadēva*, *Jagannādhadeva* and *Anantavarma* all synonymous being the names of Vishnu, and so the geneological and chronological accounts, given by both the scholars regarding this king, are far from correct,

215. J. A. S. B. No. 2, 1895, pp. 132 and 136.

216. B. C. Muzumdar's *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 201—203 and R.D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 276—281.

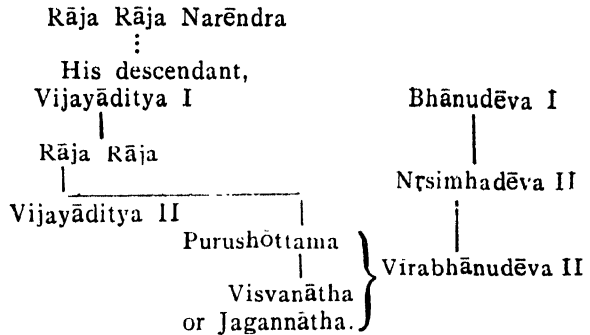
217. Nos. 1169, 1183, 1213 and 1214 in *S. I. Inscr.* Vol. V.

218. Nos. 714, 938, 1000, 1002, and 1179 in *S. I. Inscr.* Vol VI.

219. Vide Pp. 202—203 of his book *Orissa in the Making*.

220. Vide Pp. 278—280 of his book *History of Orissa*, Vol I.

Srīkūrmam inscription No. 1169 was published in Ep.Ind. Vol. V pp, 31 ff. under the title *Four pillar inscriptions of Eastern Chalukya Chiefs at Srīkūrmam*. It is dated Śaka year 1240 or A. D. 1318. The Eastern Chalukya Chief, Purushōttama gave a necklace made of 7 Nishkas or Māḍas of gold to God. He also gave 40 half-pagodas (*Nishkas* or *Gaṇḍamāḍas*) for providing offerings to God. He was the brother of Vijayāditya II and son of Rāja Rāja, who was minister of Narasimha II and who descended from the great Rāja Rāja Narēndra, the Eastern Chalukya Emperor. Purushōttama's son, Jagannātha or Visvanātha was a vassal of Virabhānudēva II. No. 1214 also records his gifts. In Śaka year 1231 or A.D. 1309, he gave 40 Nishkas or Gaṇḍamāḍas to God for the burning of a perpetual lamp. It would appear that these Eastern Chalukya Chiefs at Srīkūrmam lived as *Sāmantas* or feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅga Emperors. We learnt already that Bhānudēva I, father of Nṛsimha II and grand-father of this king, married Jakalladēvi of the Chalukya race and probably she was related to these Chalukya Chiefs. From these inscriptions, we get the following geneology of the Gaṅgas and the Chalukyas who were contemporaries:—



It is noteworthy that two of Bhānudēva II's titles are held by the last two kings of the Chālukya Line and this fact led some scholars into much confusion in fixing the chronology of this reign.

No. 1183, dated Ś. 1243 or A. D. 1321, records the gift of 50 sheep, for burning a lamp in perpetuity in the presence of God, by Sri Rāma *Śēnāpati* (Commander) for the merit of his father. He is said to be the true servant and minister (*Nijabhṛtyāmātya*) of *Srīvīrādhivra* (the illustrious and the most powerful among powerfuls) Sri Bhānudēva. He is also styled *Kalinga-rakshapāla* (the Protector of Kalinga), *Kumēli-bhanjana* (Breaker of Kumēli), *Kandavāla śiraschēdana* (Slayer of Kanda) *Kondumardana* (Reducer of Kondu), *Gandradāmu kodamasirha* (Young Lion to Gandradam) and *Tāmaracheruvu Puramaji* (Townhead of Tāmaracheruvu). The first and the last titles refer to places and offices, while the rest relate to persons and the treatment given to them by this powerful servant of the crown.

No. 1213, dated Ś. 1252 or A.D. 1330, belongs to the 4th *anka* or 3rd regnal year of Nṛsimha III, the son of Bhānu II and this proves that Bhānu's last year and his son's first year fall in Ś. 1250 or A.D. 1328.

No. 1214, as stated already, is an important inscription, partly published in Ep.Ind. Vol.V. It is a record of the Eastern Chalukya Chief Visvanātha, son of Purushōttama, dated Ś. 1231 or A.D. 1309 which is said to be equal to the 3rd regnal year of Śrī Jagannādhadēva. This would give A.D. 1306-07 as the initial year of Bhānudēva II. The gift, consisting of 40 Gaṇḍamāḍas, was given into Vīrabhānudēva's Treasury at Śrīkūrmam for providing several kinds of offerings to God and *prasādams* (food, etc.) to the several dependants of the Donor.

Simhāchalam inscription No. 714 confirms still further the date of the initial year of the reign of this king. It is dated in Śaka 1241 or A. D. 1319 which is said to be equal to the 13th regnal year of this king, who is styled as Śrī Dēvādidēva and Śrī Jagannādhadēva. This would also give A. D. 1306—7 as the initial year of his reign. This record mentions that, during the regime of Saṁkaradas, the great Commander, Lakshmīdēvi the wife of Pratāpa Gamgarāja of Jaṁṭarunādu, endowed 50 cows for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God Nṛsimha of Simhāchalam.

No. 938 is dated Śaka 1236 or A. D. 1314 which is said to be equal to the 9th *anka* year of Śrī Dēvādidēva Śrī Purushōttamadēva. This would also give A.D. 1306—7 as the initial year of this reign. The inscription records the gifts of (1) Eru *Mahāsēnāpati* (Commander-in-chief) who gave 7 Mādas, (2) his wife Umādēvi *Nāyakāni* who presented 25 cows and (3) their *Sisṭu* Sivadāsu *Nāyaka*, who also gave 25 cows. All these gifts were intended for burning lamps before God so that their merit might increase. It is significant that the king had the titles of Dēvādidēva and Purushōttamadēva, both synonymous with Anantavarma, Jagannādhadēva and Bhānudēva. All these are different names of Viṣṇu.

No. 1000 is dated Śaka 1229 which is said to be equal to the 3rd *anka* year of the king. In other words, the king ascended the throne in Śaka 1228 or A.D. 1306-07. He has the full title of *Anantavarma Pratāpavīra Śrī Bhānudēva*. The inscription records the gift of 100 cows by the E. Chalukya Chief, Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja Śrī Viṣvanātha gaṇa *Kalinga-parikṣa* Śrī Vijayadēva padirāya for his own good luck, at the time of the *amṛtamaṇi* or milk-offering to God. The executor of the grant called Gopi-khillar was given two *Puṭṭis* of land to be purchased with 17 Paḍagaṇḍamāḍas. For the increase of the Donor's prowess or *Bhujabala*, several *Nibhandas* of land were also given for providing different offerings to God.

No. 1002 also belongs to the Chalukya Chief Viswanātha. It is also dated Śaka 1229 and it gives the same titles of the king that are mentioned above. It is also clear that Śaka 1229 corresponds to the king's 3rd *anka* year, or the date of his accession is Śaka year 1228 or A.D. 1306. The Donor has the same titles mentioned above. His name is given as Visvanātha. He made a gift of two *Nibhandas* of garden-land so that a flower-garland might be supplied to God daily. The Donor also gave one *putti* of land to a certain Narasimha for raising every year the *Dhāra-mandapam* (Hall) built already by him. The gifts were made for the Donor's good luck.

No. 1179 is dated Śaka 1228 which is also said to correspond to the king's 3rd *anka* year. This means that, in Śaka 1227 or A. D. 1305—6, the accession of the king took place though apparently his coronation was held in 1306-07. *Kalinga-pariksha* Śrī Vijayadēva padirāya and others made a gift of 150 *Mollamāḍas* for providing several offerings to God.

If now we examine the king's own Pūri plates,²²¹ we learn that they are a true copy of the Kendupatna plates of Narasimha II, giving the full geneology of the Dynasty from the Moon to the Donor. The date of the grant is Śaka 1234 or A. D. 1312. The name of the king is Puruṣhōttama and the year Śaka 1234 is said to be equal to his 7th *anka* or 5th actual ruling year. In other words, his reign must have commenced in Śaka 1229—30 or A.D. 1307—8. But, from the stone inscriptions, mentioned above, we learn that he came to the throne in Śaka 1227—28 or A. D. 1305—6. In other words, Bhānudēva came to kingly power in Śaka 1227—28 but his actual coronation took place two years later. It would thus appear that, while the Pūri plates give the coronation date as the beginning of his reign, several of the stone inscriptions give the accession date. Since an inscription (No. 1173 in S. I. I. Vol. V) of Nṛsimha II is found dated Śaka year 1228 or A. D. 1306-07, we might regard that year for historical purposes, as the last of Nṛsimha's and the first of Bhānudēva's reign.

The Pūri plates state that, from the camp of Puruṣhōttama, on the bank of the southern ocean, Rangadāsa śarma, the Secretary for peace and war, obtained a grant of two villages, viz, Padmapāga-Sugalapura and Sōmanāthapaḍā and the order was communicated to Vīra Śrī Bhānudēva Rauta.²²²

^{221.} Vide Pp. 276—280 in R. D. Banerji's work, *History of Orissa* Vol. I and Pp. 201—203 in B. C. Muzumdar's *Orissa in the Making*.

^{222.} The late R. D. Banerji, while stating that in Śaka 1234 a king named Puruṣhōttama ruled at Puruṣhōttama-kataka or Puri and that his 2nd *anka* or 1st regnal year was A.D. 1306, failed to identify him with Jagannāthadēva and

Bhānudeva II was a great warrior who fought with the Moslems successfully. It is learnt²²³ that "the king's (Bhānudeva II's) war with Ghayāsuddīn beginning, the blood flowing from the necks of the many big chiefs wounded by his valour filled the world. The blood stream gushing up profusely from the then wounded breasts of the (enemy's) elephants was such that still shines in the sky in the disguise of sun-set glow." M. M. Chakravarti first thought²²⁴ that this war was probably fought with Ulugh Khan in 1323 A.D. after his capture of Warrangal but later on correctly held that it was against his father Ghiyāsuddīn Tughlak.²²⁵ He also stated that Ulugh Khan having captured Warrangal invaded Jājnagar. These events are thus described²²⁶ :—

"The name of Arangal was changed to Sultanpur and all the country of Tilang was conquered. Officers were appointed to manage the country and one year's tribute was taken. The prince then marched towards Jājnagar (the Jājnagar on the Mahānadi in Cuttack) and there took forty elephants with which he returned to Tilang. These he sent on to his father. At the time when Arangal was taken and the elephants arrived from Jājnagar, several Mughal armies attacked the frontiers." About this time, complaints came from Lakhnauti against its cruel ruler. So the Sultan Ghiyāsuddīn, after summoning Ulugh Khan from Warrangal and making him vice-gerent, marched against Lakhnauti. Nasiruddin met him and paid homage and got back Lakhnauti. It was probably at this time, when the Sultan tried to invade Jājnagar, that Bhānudeva defeated him and drove him out. Shortly after, he was killed by the evil design of his son. Ulugh Khan's capture of 40 elephants from Jājnagar cannot be considered as its conquest for, in the list of Provinces under the control of Ulugh Khan, it

Vira Bhanudeva. He also failed to identify the last two names as one and the same, though he stated that the year of accession of all of them was A. D. 1306. He finally stated that "Purushottama was a usurper who kept Bhanudeva II virtually a prisoner in the interior of his palace at Puri"! This lasted, it seems, till 1309 when Bhanudeva came to the throne but the usurpation of Purushottama did not last beyond 1312 A. D.!!

Mr. B. C. Muzumdar writes that "in dating the plates of the charter it has been distinctly recorded that Bhanudeva II when making the grant of two villages did not become a ruler and it was in the 7th year of the reign of Purushottamadeva falling in Saka Era 1234, i.e. 1312 A. D. that the charter was executed. According to this statement, Purushottamadeva, coming between Nrisimha and Bhanu II, begins his reign in 1306 A. D. for, his 7th regnal year is Saka 1234=1312 A.D. Bhanudeva II in that case reigned from 1313 or thereabouts to 1327 A. D." This writer also fails to identify Purushottama with Bhanudeva.

223. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIV, p. 136.

224. Ibid. 225. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII, p. 130.

226. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 234. Also, p. 609,

is omitted.²²⁷ However, a certain Shahabuddin, in his Work of Travels stated, on the information given by a native of Oudh, that the dominions of Muhamad Tughlak (Ulug Khan) consisted of 23 provinces and the 22nd was Jājnagar.²²⁸ This was probably comprised in the Empire on the ground of the capture of 40 elephants which must be due to a mere raid and not a conquest. Still, it shows the beginning of the decline of E. Gaṅga Empire. Ulugh Khan or Mahamad Bin Tughlak, after capturing finally Warrangal, invaded and took Rajahmundry and converted a Hindu Temple into a Mosque, which still stands on the main road of the city near the market with a Persian inscription²²⁹ at the top of the front-gate. It states that, when Ghiyāsuddin was the Emperor of Dehli and when his son Ulugh Khan was the Nawab of Telingāna, a certain Sālar Ulvi built the Mosque in Hijri 724 or A. D. 1324. This proves that the raid into Orissa took place in A. D. 1323.

11. *Nṛsimhadēva III.* A, D. 1328—1352.

Bhānudēva II was succeeded to the throne by his son Nṛsimha who ruled for 24 years like his father, according to the Pūri plates of his grand-son Nṛsimha IV. He was born to Lakshmidēvi and his own wife was called Kamaladēvi. From the stone inscriptions of this king, found in the Temples of Srikūrmam and Simhāchalam, we learn that he had also other queens called Gaṅgādēvi or Gaṅgāmbika and Kommidēvi who had a daughter named Sītādēvi. His son, Bhānu III, presented the images of Nṛsimha and Gaṅgāmba holding lamps to God of Srikūrmam and probably Kamala and Gaṅgāmba are both one and the same.

A fuller account of his reign is known from the following inscriptions found in Srikūrmam²³⁰ and Simhāchalam²³¹ temples and the history of the reign is constructed from them.

No. 1181, dated Śaka year 1263, records the gifts of Nārāyana *Daḷapati* (Head of cavalry). Śaka year 1263 is said to be equal to the 18th *anka* or 15th regnal year of *Pratāpa* (Powerful) *Śrī* (Illustrious) Vīra Nara Nārasimhadēva. This shows that Śaka 1249 or A. D. 1327—28 was the first year of his reign. Since A. D. 1328 was found to be the last year of his father, that may be regarded as the first year of his accession to the throne. The Donor gave 12 gold Nishkas for burning *Dhūpam* (Incense) daily twice to God.

227. Ibid. p. 236. This account of Ziauddin Barni should be considered true in preference to others.

228. Ibid. p. 575. 229. Ep. Indo-Moslemica, (1923—24) Pp. 13—14,

230. Srikurmam Temple Inscriptions Nos. 1181, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1193, 1195, 1900, 1213, 1219, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1237 and 1240 in *S. I. Inscr.* Vol. V.

231. Simhachalam Temple Inscriptions Nos. 932, 933, 1003 and 1052 in *S. I. Inscr.* Vol. VI.

No. 1189 is an important record, dated Śaka. 1265 or A.D. 1343, mentioning very valuable gifts of Gaṅga *Mahādevī* (the Great Queen) made for the increase of her sons and grandsons, long life and fulfilment of all her desires and king Nṛsimhadēva Mahārāja's long life, good sons and prosperity of the kingdom. She seems to be the chief queen who probably is called Kamaladēvi in the C. P. Grants. Her rich gifts to God comprised 1. Chandelier (*Dīpahasta-pratima* or Image with hands which is used for burning lights). 2. Crown made of the nine precious stones (Vajra, Vaidūrya, Gōmēdika, Nīla, Mauktika, Pushyarāga, Padma-rāga, Markata, Pravāḷa). 3. Seven garlands of pearls 4. Gold Vessel 5. Chōli Māla 6. Two *Puṁdras*. (Holy marks on the fore-head).

No. 1190 is also a record of Gangāmba, the Queen-consort who describes herself as *Arddhāṅgi* (Better-half) of king Nṛsimha. It is dated Śaka 1274 or A. D. 1352, the last year of the king's reign. The gifts consisted of cows, gold ornaments and cash (36 Māḍas) for burning incense to God. These were all made for the fulfilment of all her desires.

No. 1191, dated Ś. 1271 or A. D. 1349-50 belongs to the king's (Veerādiveera Nara Nārasimha's) 28th *anka* or 23rd regnal year, proving again that the king came to rule in A.D. 1327-28. It records the grant of 38 Gaṇḍamāḍas, for providing various kinds of offerings to God, by Kommidēvamma, perhaps another queen as suggested by inscriptions. (Nos. 1125 and 1227.)

No. 1193, dated Ś. 1253 or A.D. 1331, records the gift of a garden to God during the regime (*Bhōga-pariksha* or Examiner of offerings to God) of Narasimhadāsa Pandit. No. 1195 is dated in the 7th *anka* or 5th regnal year of the king and records the gift of 25 cows for a lamp during the regime of the same *Bhōga-pariksha*. We learn that Śrīkūrmam was also called Narasimha-puram.

No. 1200 is dated Ś. 1267 which is said to correspond to the king's 23rd *anka* or 19th regnal year. This also proves that Ś. 1249 or A.D. 1327-28 was the first year of the king's reign. It records the gift of 25 sheep for a lamp by Anantama of Poṭṭnūruvidu, a town in Visag Dt.

No. 1213 is a Sanskrit—Oriya inscription in Telugu characters. It is dated Ś. 1252 or A.D. 1330 which is said to be equal to the king's 4th *anka* or 3rd regnal year, showing that A.D. 1327-28 was his first ruling year. During the *Bhōga-pariksha* of Narasimhadāsa, a certain Kuppi *Sāhasamalla* (the brave fist-fighter) gave an endowment of 40 Gaṇḍamāḍas for burning a lamp and for providing various kinds of puddings to God.

No. 1219 is an interesting record which belongs to the king's (*Sri Pratāpa Virādīvara Naranārasimha Deva*'s) 7th *anka* or 5th regnal year. It records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas, during the regime of Narasimhadāsa Pandit, by Kumāra Puruṣhōttamadēva of Kimidi, for the realisation of *Puṇyaloka* (Heaven) by his son Indradēva who died.

No. 1225 is dated Ś. 1271 which is said to be equal to the king's 28th *anka* or 23rd regnal year. This also proves that the king's accession took place in Ś. 1249 or A. D. 1327. The inscription records the gift of a *Nibandha* of land by Gangādēvi Mahādēvi, the Queen-consort and of two *Chāmaras* (Fans) by Sītadēvi, (the daughter of Kommidēvi). The services to God should be rendered by three dancing girls who would receive *prasādam* of God. To meet the cost of the same, the royal princesses endowed the treasury of God with 30 Paidi Malla Māḍas and gave a salary of one Gaṇḍamāḍa to each of the dancing girls who should fan God at both the times of burning incense.

No. 1226, dated Ś. 1267 or A.D. 1345, records the gift of gold equal to 10 Nishkas by king Nṛsimha's wife Gaṅga Mahādēvi, for blowing a conch-shell always in the temple for the prosperity of her progeny and for the increase of the kingdom.

No. 1227, dated Ś. 1263, records the gifts of Gaṅga Mahādēvi and Kommidēvi. The latter gave, for the merit of her daughter Sītadēvi a chandelier and gold *Prātima* (Image) and also 3 garlands of pearls and 50 cows for feeding the lamp with ghee. The former queen gave 8 *Nishkas* for reciting music in praise of God at both the times of burning incense. The exact relationship between the two queens is not given anywhere but from the mention of both names together in some inscriptions, it is inferred that they were both wives of king Nṛsimha III,

No. 1237 is dated Ś. 1270 which is said to be equal to the king's 29th *anka* or 24th regnal year. This is really the last year of the king's rule and the Puri Plates of Nṛsimha IV support this conclusion. The inscription records the gift of 50 cows for a lamp by a certain Amaru Paḍirāya for the complete fulfilment of his desires. Krishnama, the executor of the grant, was required to feed the lamp daily with half a measure (*Aḍḍa*) of ghee.

Lastly, No. 1240 is dated Ś. 1267 which is said to be equal to the king's 22nd *anka* or 18th regnal year. This would also give Ś. 1250 or A.D. 1328 as the initial year of his reign. The inscription records the gift of Achyuta Prādhani (Minister) who was the *Sishtu* of Dharmmarāja of Chikati (Modern Chikati Zamindary in the Ganjam District) for the increase of his progeny and life. The gift consisted of the endowment of the necessary amount, for buying a garden for supplying flowers to God daily, in God's treasury and also 16 Gaṇḍaparakamāḍas and 14 Māḍas for the maintenance of two gardeners.

The Simhāchalam inscriptions also throw much new light on the history of this reign. For instance, No. 932 states that the king's feet became resplendent with the lustre shed by the precious stones set in the Crowns of subordinate kings. His wife or Paṭṭamahishi, Gangādēvi

Mahādēvi, endowed for the fulfilment of her desires, 14½ *Nibhandas* of land, acquired at a cost of 6 Mallā Māḍas each, for providing various kinds of offerings to God. More money was provided for those who rendered the services. In all, 120 Gaṇḍa Nishkas were deposited for all the services in the Treasury—House of God Nṛsimha. The date of this record is Ś. 1272 or A.D. 1350, which is the last ruling year of the king. It is significant that the services consisted in supplying water for God's bath and sacred-strings for God's wear and flower-garlands and other offerings.

No. 933 also describes the good qualities of the king. It also records several gifts of the king's wife Ganga *Mahādēvi*. It is dated Ś. 1271 or A.D. 1349. The gifts consisted of two gold lamp-stands, 2 gold Holy-feet of God, one lotus garland and several ornaments made of gold. A sum of 36 Malla Nishkas or Māḍas was paid into the Treasury of God for them and a further sum of 15 Mallamāḍas was given for providing ghee for burning a lamp and 20 more for other services. The gifts were made for the long life, welfare, children and increase of kingdom.

No. 1003 is dated Śaka 1262 or A. D. 1340. It is an important record because it is the only one so far discovered that mentions the gifts of the king made by himself for his health, wealth and children. He styles himself as one whose feet were served by all the kings conquered by him. The gift consisted of 200 cows which were secured for the king's gift by Sankaradāsa, the *Kalinga-parīksha*. The gift was placed in charge of 4 Bhōgas who should supply every month 45 measures (Kunchams) of ghee, evidently for feeding a lamp to be burnt before God.

No. 1052 is also an important inscription. It belongs to Śaka 1272 or A.D. 1350, the last year of the king's reign. It records the gifts of Ganga-Mahādēvi for the increase of the great kingdom and for her own welfare and for the fame of her children. Six villages in Eradi *viśaya* (District) and two in Pārvati *Bhogam* (District), both situated in Kalingadēśa, were granted for God's *Bhogam* (Enjoyment) called Ganga-Narasimha *Bhogam*. Several articles, made of gold, were also offered for providing various kinds of services to God. Janārdana *Mahāsēnāpati* (Commander-in-chief) was appointed as *Bhoga-parīksha* to look after the offerings. 18 ladies were named to conduct the various services to God such as singing music, playing instruments, blowing conch, fanning God, etc.

It is thus clear that Gaṅgādēvi Mahādēvi is the only Queen-consort mentioned as such in the inscriptions. It is doubtful whether even Kommidēvi can be regarded as the king's wife. There is no mention of the name of Kamaladēvi at all in the stone inscriptions though she alone is mentioned in Pūri plates and hence it must be regarded as another name for Gaṅgādēvi. Bhānudeva III should therefore be regarded as the son of *Kamaladevi alias Gaṅgādēvi* and an inscription, (No. 1205) of Bhānu III actually states that Chandeliers of Vīra Narasimha and Gaṅgāmbika were presented by him to God of SṛīKūrmam in Śaka 1275 which is said to be his 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This also proves how Śaka 1274 or A. D. 1352 was the last year of Nṛsimha III's reign and the first of Bhānu III's.

Chapter VIII.

The Last of the Eastern Ganga Kings.

12. Bhānudeva III. A.D. 1352-53—1378.

Bhānu III was the son of Nṛsimha III and Kamalādēvi or Gangādēvi. He ruled for 26 years according to the Puri Plates of his son. The history of his reign is known to us from several stone inscriptions.²³²

No. 1011 is found in the Saivite Temple at Mukhalingam or Kalinga-nagaram, the old capital of the E. Ganga Line. It has a special interest for us, because, among the inscriptions of the Later Ganga kings, it alone is found in the famous Saivite temple at Mukhalingam wherein many inscriptions of Earlier Ganga kings and their subordinates, that ruled over Kalinga in the 11th and 12th centuries, are found. Since the removal of the capital to Cuttack and specially after the Later Ganga kings became converts to the cult of Vishnu, all patronage was removed from the God of Mukhalingam.

This inscription is dated Śaka year 1289 which is said to be equal to the king's (Sṛī Vīrādhi Vīra Pratāpa Sṛī Bhānudeva's) 18th *anka* or 15th regnal year. This shows that Bhānu III ascended the throne in Ś. 1274-75 or A.D. 1352-53. It records the gift of a certain field (in Nagarapuvāda?) to God Madhukēśvara by the son of *Kalinga Mahārāyaṇa Sāhasamalla*, who was the son of Sṛī *Dakshinadaṇḍa Kalingamāji Sāhasamalla*. It is noteworthy how the official titles had become personal.

No. 1154 is dated Ś. 1279 or A.D. 1357 and records the gift of King Purushōttama of 50 cows for burning two lamps before the God of Sṛīkūrmam. No. 1155 also belongs to the same date but records the gift of 50 Gaṇḍamāḍas for 50 cows for supplying ghee for two lamps by Lakshmidēvi, wife of Nṛsimharāja of Vīrakoṭṭam. This is a place in Visag Dt. The king is evidently a feudatory of Bhānu III. One interesting point we learn from this inscription is that the price of a cow was one Gaṇḍamāḍa during the middle of the 14th century. Granting that, at that time, a cow was, on the average, costing Rs. 20 or half of what it costs now, a Gaṇḍamāḍa would have the value of 1£ or 20 shillings, or a Sovereign.

No. 1156 is an Oriya inscription in Telugu characters. It belongs to this king's (?) 12th *anka* or 10th regnal year. A certain Nārāyaṇa who was the *Māji* or Head of the village of Tulasi gave a gift of 50 Gaṇḍamāḍas into the Treasury of God for burning a lamp.

^{232.} Nos. 1011, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1196, 1205 and 1218 in *S. I. Inscriptions* Vol. V. Also, Nos. 742, 751, 772, 795, 802, 813, 819, 860, 876, 1046, 1049 and 1053 in *S. I. Inscriptions* Vol. VI.

No. 1157, dated Śaka 1281 or A.D. 1359, belonging to the king's reign records a gift of 100 cows for 2 lamps by Nārāyaṇa *Sāhasa-mallu* of Tulasi village, the same that is mentioned in the record above.

No. 1196 is dated Śaka 1276 which is said to be equal to the king's 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This shows that Śaka 1275 or A. D. 1353 was the first year of the king's accession.

No. 1205 is an important inscription as it records certain gifts by the Emperor himself. It is dated Śaka 1275 which is also said to be equal to the king's 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This results in Śaka 1274 or A.D. 1352 being the first year of the king's accession. But since, in the record noted above, Śaka 1275 is mentioned as the first year of accession, it will be best to regard Śaka 1274—75 or, A.D. 1352—53 as the correct date of the king's accession. It records the grant of the *Chāyas* or images of Nṛsimha and his wife Gangāmbika, holding lamps in hand and offering lights to God, by their son Bhānu III. The king also endowed for the fulfilment of all his desires a lamp to be fed in perpetuity by the ghee of two cows of Bhōgapura. He also gave land in Thōti village in Erada *viśaya* and secured it by a stone inscription. The royal donation was made at the hands of the Door-keeper (Dwāra-nāyaka) Kēśavanātha *Pandita*, during the regimes of Nārāyaṇa *Mahāśenāpati*, the *Bhōga-pariksha* and Purushōthama *Jiyyana*, the *Kalinga-pariksha*. It was ordained that the Kalinga *Nāyakas* should look after the burning of the lights.

No. 1208 is a record of Nṛsimha IV, dated Śaka 1301, which is said to be equal to his 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This shows that Śaka 1300 or A.D. 1378 was the last year of Bhānu III and the first of Nṛsimha IV. Similarly, No. 1211 is dated Śaka 1302 which is said to be equal to the king's (Nṛsimha IV's) 4th *anka* or 3rd regnal year. This confirms that Śaka 1300 or A.D. 1378 was the last year of the king.

No. 1218 is dated Śaka 1275 which is said to be equal to the king's 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. It proves that Śaka 1274 or A. D. 1352—53 was the first year of the king's reign. He ruled till 1378 i.e., for 26 years, as stated in the Puri Plates of his son. The inscription records the gift of 100 sheep by Gangu-Nāyaka of Kodur, son of Gōpi-*Mahāmaṇḍalika*. (Provincial Governor-in-chief).

The Simhāchalam inscriptions of the time of this king are also useful and interesting as they throw more light on this reign. For example, No. 742, dated Śaka 1294 or A. D. 1372, records the gift of 5 Māḍas for offering flowers to God by Srivatsa *Nāyaḍu*, the son of Hēramma *Mahāśenāpati*. (Commander-in-chief).

No. 751 is dated Śaka 1298 or A.D. 1376-77 which is said to be equal to the king's 31st *anka* or 25th regnal year. During the regime of Dharmadāsa, who was the *Bhōga-pariksha*, *Kalinga-pariksha* and

Pātra, a certain Sishṭukavu *Mahāsēnāpati* gave, for the long life of the king, two *Puttis* of land in the village of Lakumāvaram or Lakshmi-varam in Oḍḍādidēśa for the maintenance of Tantrasāni so that she might enjoy the land and do the service of holding *Chāmarams* (Fans) at the time of *Chandanamolupu* or removal of sandal from the image of God, which still comes off every year once in the month of May.

No. 752 is an important record. It is dated Śaka 1303 or A.D. 1383-84. It records the gifts of *Gajapati Peda* Narasimharāju's wife Birujādēvi and Bhānudēva III's wife Tārādēvi.

No. 772 is dated Śaka 1293 or A. D. 1371-72 which is said to be equal to the king's 2nd *anka* or 1st regnal year. But this date in the inscription, being doubted, is clearly wrong. It must be the 24th *anka* or 20th regnal year. It records the grant of 4 *puttis* of land in the village of Mrēmpada to a lady called Mudunarēkha by a certain Chillama *Sāhasamalla* so that she might render certain services to God.

No. 795, dated Śaka 1278, records the gift of 50 cows by Madanarēkha, the queen of Srī Purushōttamadēva of Virakoṭṭam. He was evidently a feudatory of the Ganga kings. The place is still found in Visagapatam District and is said to contain ancient historical relics.

No. 802 belongs to Śaka year 1281 or A. D. 1359. It records the gift of 50 cows for burning one lamp to God by Hanuma Angēśvara who was the *Kalinga-pariksha* and *Sandhi-vigrahi*. These were two important quasi-military offices under the Crown corresponding to the Commissioner and Foreign-Secretary respectively.

No. 813 is dated Śaka 1288 or A. D. 1366. It records certain gifts of lands and cash for two ladies to render services to God by a certain Gangādhara. He is called *Kalinga-pariksha* or *Kalingādhapati* which shows that he ruled over a part of it with both civil and military powers subject, of course, to the control of the Ganga Emperors.

No. 819, dated Śaka 1295, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas by a certain Kanchi, who was the *Kalinga-Vyāpāri* and *Mahāsēnāpati*. The former office resembles a similar one which came into existence some time later at Golconda and was called *Golkonda-Vyāpāri*. A sect of people called by the same name is still to be found in Andhradēśa. Evidently, the name indicated at first a royal office referring to conduct of business in the country.

No. 860, dated Ś. 1283, records gifts of Narasimha Bhāraṭi *Muni* which consisted of two *puttis* of land, which he got from *purohita*s and which lay in Chōḍavaram in Oḍḍādidēśa, and 16 Gaṇḍamāḍas. These were given into the Treasury of God for His services. He gave 6 more Māḍas to be enjoyed by two Donees who should supply two Sacred-strings to God daily after the *Dhapa* (Incense-burning) ceremony.

No. 876, dated Ś. 1299, records gifts in Amkakatapalli by Arjuna dēva of Oḍḍādi during the regime of Dharmadāsa who was the *Kalinga-pariksha* and *Pātra*. It was ordained that, after the *Prasādam* was offered to God, it should be distributed, according to measurements given in the record itself among all the royal dependents and temple servants. It is significant that even high officials had a share in it.

No. 1046 is an interesting record of the King himself. It belongs to Ś. 1275 or A. D. 1353. He resumed or deposited in his name certain gifts, made already in Ś. 1272 or A.D. 1350 by his mother Ganga-mahādēvi as per No. 1052 Simhāchalam Inscription, for what is called *Ganga-Narasimha Bhōgam* and ordered that the *Prasādam* should be distributed among the Tirupati Vaishnavas and *Sthānāpatīs* (Temple-priests) as it was done previously among the 5 Nāyakas. And these 5 Nāyakas were compensated by a grant of 3 *pandums* of land in the village of Tāmdrangi. It may be recalled that this was one of the 8 villages granted by the Queen Gangadēvi in her record noted above. It is significant that while *she* made the previous grant, Bhānu III states in this record that his father made it. Having deprived the 5 Nāyakas of their existing rights, he compensated them by substituting salaries to be raised out of the lands given in Tāmdrangi village. It looks as though he utilised the proceeds of the villages resumed, by depositing them in *his* name for God's festivals and celebrations at Simhāchalam.

No. 1047, dated Śaka 1281, mentions Maujanna as the *Kalinga-pariksha* and *Mahāsenapati* and Narasimha Bhārati as the *Bhōga-pariksha* of the Temple. This Sage Narasimha was evidently continuing the work of Narahari Tīrtha by spreading the faith of Mādhwa in Kalingadēśa.

No. 1049 belongs to the king's 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year and records the gift of 4 *puffis* of land in the village of Mrōmpāda for Ganga-Narasimha *Bhōgam* so that the king's merit might increase.

No. 1053, dated Śaka 1275, records the gift of 52 Gaṇḍamāḍas into the treasury of God, by Nṛsimha's wife Gangādēvi for reciting *Purāṇam* daily at the time of Ganga-Narasimha *Bhōgam*,

The inscriptions examined so far show how the Kalinga Empire was divided into *Mahāmaṇḍalas* (Great Provinces), *Maṇḍalas* (Provinces) *Vishayas* (Districts), *Nādus* (Talucs), *Grāmas* (Villages) and *Pallis* (Hamlets). There were various kinds of offices like *Mahāsenapati*, *Sēnapati*, *Mahāpaśāyati*, *Paśāyati*, *Mahāmaṇḍalika*, *Maṇḍalika*, *Mahā-pātra*, *Pātra*, *Kalinga-pariksha*, *Daḷapati*, *Danḍapati*, *Sundhivigrahi*, *Amāty*, *Nāyaka*, *Sṛtkaraṇa* and *Puravāri*. These gradations and varieties of offices show how the administrative machinery was highly organised in the Later Ganga period (11th to 15 centuries).

Relations with the Moslems.

Already, during the time of this king's grandfather, the country was attacked by the Tughlaks, Ghiyasuddin Tughlak attempting to invade from the north and his son Mahammad Bin Tughlak invading from the south and capturing 40 elephants. After the fall of the Kakatiya Empire, two States, one Hindu and the other Muhamadan arose on its ruins, viz, Vijayanagaram and Bhāmani. According to Sewell,²³³ Kampana's son, Sangama II was ruling over Nellore and the East-coast in A.D. 1356. He was the nephew of Bukka I, Emperor of Vijayanagaram. In A.D. 1357, he is said to have led a raid into Kalinga and defeated the Gajapathi king, Bhānu III. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*²³⁴ gives a detailed account of the relations between Sultan Fīroz Tughlak of Delhi who succeeded Muhammad Bin Tughlak in A.D. 1353 and Jājñagar, then under Vīra Bhānudēva III.

Briefly stated, it is thus:—After a campaign against Bengal, Sultan Fīroz reached Jaunpur and resolved to march against Jājñagar and his officials made all preparations. Leaving his baggage at Karra, he made forced marches through Bihar and finally reached Jājñagar. It was a very rich and happy place being full of corn and fruit. The Sultan rested at Banarasi, an ancient capital of the Rajas. At that time, the Raja of Jājñagar was Adāya who quitted Banarasi which had 2 forts. The Rajas were Brahmans and successive Rais had added to the forts making them large and populous. The then Raja fled and took refuge in the water. The country was in confusion and some people fled to hills and some were taken captives. Their cattle, horses and property fell into the enemy's hand. The people had spacious houses and fine gardens with fruit trees, flowers etc. showing the prosperity of the country. The Sultan, on hearing that the Raja took refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephants. He then entered the palace of the king and found many fine buildings and within his fort a stone idol of Jagannath which was taken to Dehli and put to disgrace. When the Sultan next prepared to pursue the Rai into his island, he sent five of his Brahman Pātors or Pātros to wait upon the Sultan. In the country of Jājñagar, the Mahtas or Mahants are called Pātars or Pātros and the Raja had 20 such officers under whose advice he conducted all affairs of his State. When the 5 Pātros respectfully submitted that their Rāja was already a dependant and subject of the Sultan, the latter replied that his intentions were friendly and that he came hither to hunt for elephants. The Raja gave 20 mighty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain number yearly in payment of revenue. The Sultan then sent robes and

²³³ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 300.

²³⁴ Translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 812-16.

insignia by the Mahants or Pātros to the Raja and returned home after much difficulty with the 73 elephants he obtained from Lakhnauti and Jājnagar.

This account differs in important points from the one translated by Major Raverty.²³⁵ According to it, (1) Banarasi is given as Banāras which he reached after crossing the river Mahānandi. (2) The Rai fled towards Talingāna (3) The Rai sought for peace sending 3 elephants besides rarities and precious things. (4) The Sultan reached the country of Rai Bhānu Diw or Bīr Bhān Dēv (5) He returned from thence to Padmāvati or South Bihar for hunting purposes and captured 33 elephants and killed 2 (6) He then returned to Karah.

It is not possible to know which account is true. It is doubtful whether either account is wholly true particularly in the material respect of the submission of Bhānudēva III. It is inconceivable how a mighty king with such a large Empire and such great resources could so easily submit to a hunting excursion-party of Firoz Tughlak. This so-called invasion of Firoz should be treated as a mere hunting-raid like the one²³⁶ led by the Bengal Sultan Hāji Ilyās, in A. D. 1353, or the one led by Sangama, the nephew of Bukka I in A. D. 1356—57. The Gaṅga Empire lasted with full vigour for nearly a century more when it was succeeded by a yet more powerful Dynasty known as the Gajapati, a Title which was inherited along with the Empire by the Solar Line of kings from their Suzereins, the Gaṅga Emperors. The late R D. Banerji²³⁷ has rightly held:

"Jājnagar lay at the extremity of Gaḍha-Kataṅkā or Jubbalpur. Having crossed the Mahānadi, he (Firoz) reached the town of Banarsi. The Haihaya king of Jājnagar fled into Telingana. After passing through Jājnagar territories, Firoz Tughlak entered the kingdom of Bhānudēva III while hunting. Bhānudēva sent him some elephants and Firoz Tughlak returned to Karah. This expedition took place in 1361 A. D."

13. *Narasimhadēva IV.* A. D. 1378—1414.

He was the son of Bhānudēva III by his wife Hirādēvi, a princess of the Chālukya race. It was already learnt how Bhānudēva I married Jākalladēvi of the same dynasty. It would appear that these marriage alliances with the E. Chālukyas, who were the strongest feudatories under the Gangas, strengthened their position. Two of his own Pūri Plates²³⁸ style him as the Lord of Fourteen Worlds (*Chaturdaśa Bhuvanādhipati*) and the Stone inscriptions, found in Śīkūrmam and

²³⁵ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXII, p. 136.

²³⁶ Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 219.

²³⁷ History of Orissa, Vol. I, pp. 282—83.

²³⁸ J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIV, part I, No 2. Pp. 128—154. Except in the grant portions, the matter in both Plates is identical.

Simhāchalam Temples call him "the powerful and illustrious," (*Vīra Sri*) *Narasimhadēva*. The language in the Plates is Sanskrit and the *lipi* is a mixture of Dēvanāgarī and Kuṭiā characters. They give the complete Geneology of the Dynasty. They begin with salutation to Siva and blessing of Vishnu whose son Brahma created Atri, the father of Moon. As the Gaṅga Dynasty is Lunar, being descended from Moon, he is praised. As it is not possible to "sing the exploits of the Moon-descended kings," a mere list of 25 names only of the early kings, from Moon to Kolāhala or, Anantavarma, is given.

After stating that 5 Kāmārṇavaś had preceeded, the historical list begins with a Kāmārṇava and closes with the Donor (Nṛsimha IV).

1. Kāmārṇava
 - 2. Vajrahasta = Naṅgama
 - 3. Rāja Rāja = Rājasundari
 - 4. Chōḍagaṅga = Kasturikāmōdini
(Acc. Ś. 999)
 - 5. Kāmārṇava (10 years)
(Acc. Ś. 1064) = Indira
 - 6. Rāghava (15 years)
= Chandralēkha
7. Rāja Rāja II (25 years)
8. Aniyāṅga Bhīma (10 years)
= Bhāgalladēvi
 - 9. Rāja Rāja III = Sadguṇa
(17 years)
 - 10. Anaṅgabhimā = Kasturadēvi
(33 years)
 - 11. Narasimhadēva I = Sitadēvi
(33 years)
 - 12. Vīra Bhānudēva I = Jākalladēvi
(17 years)
 - 13. Narasimhadēva II = Chōḍadēvi
(34 years)
 - 14. Vīrabhānudēva II = Lakshmidēvi
(24 years)
 - 15. Nṛsimhadēva III = Kamaladēvi
(24 years)
 - 16. Bhānudēva III = Hīradēvi
(26 years)
 - 17. Nṛsimhadēva IV

The Donor, Nṛsimhadēva IV made the first Grant in his 8th *anka* or 6th regnal year and the second Grant in his 22nd *anka* or 18 regnal year. The first Grant was made in Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1384 and the second in

Ś. 1316 or A. D. 1395. The gifts mentioned in the second Grant were actually made from Dēvakuṭa and Nārāyaṇapura camps in November 1396 and February 1397 respectively.

Both the Grants are said to be made from Cuttack (Vāraṇāsī-Kataka), on the occasion of victory, in the presence of several officials, some of whose designations are the same as those already mentioned in the several stone inscriptions. For instance, *Mahāpātra*, *Sandhivigrāhi*, *Pātra*, *Dvārāpariksha*, *Sēnādhyaksha*, *Srīkaraṇa*, *Mahāsēnāpati*, *Bhāṇḍāra Purōpariksha*, *Budhālenka*, and *Bhāṇḍārādhikari* were already mentioned, as high officers of State who surrounded the king on important occasions and particularly at the time of making Grants.

According to the first Grant, the village of Kinnarī in Uttarakhaṇḍa-vishaya was given to *Mohāpātra* Naraharidāsa Praharāja. The gift yielded 900 Māḍas of Gold per year. According to the second Grant, the villages of Saiso and Rādaso in Madanakhandavishaya in Kōshṭadēśa were given to a Brahmin Scholar named Dēvarathāchārya, a priest in the temple of Ugrēśvaradēva. They yielded 449 Māḍas of Gold. These two Grants were made for the king's long life, prosperity and increase of the Empire. The portions describing gifts in both the inscriptions are mostly in Oriya, and "in words and syntax the old Oriya of 500 years ago was the same as now." The first and the second Grants were inscribed by Durgadāsa and Gurudāsa respectively.

Several Stone Inscriptions of the time of this king were already published in *S. I. Inscr.* Vols. V, and VI²³⁹ in 1925 and 1928 respectively and referred to in my Telugu work *Kolingadēśacharitra* (1930). In point of number, information and importance, they excel those of any in the preceeding reigns except Chōḍagaṅga. Several Officers, named in the two Pūri Plates of this king, donated gifts for providing offerings to the Gods of Srikūrmam and Simhāchalam.

No. 1160, dated Ś. 1314, records the gift of 50 cows by Māka *Sēnāpati* of Enamadala, a place in Visag District. No. 1180 belongs to Ś. 1324 or A. D. 1403 and records the gift of 100 sheep, for burning a lamp in the Temple, by Rṣidāsa *Nāyaḍu* for his long life, prosperity and progeny.

239. Nos. 1158, 1160, 1180, 1208 and 1211 in *S. I. I. Vol. V.*

Nos 730, 731, 741, 750, 752, 753, 755, 757, 758, 765, 769, 770, 771, 774, 776, 786, 787, 789, 790, 801, 812, 817, 829, 835, 846, 847, 848, 849, 851, 853, 855, 856, 859, 861, 862, 865, 866, 871, 902, 907, 916, 918, 919, 922, 923, 929, 946, 958, 960, 961, 971, 972, 985, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1022, 1023, 1030, 1031, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1055, 1072, 1087, 1096, 1098, 1105, 1107, 1112, 1113, 1115, 1119, 1125 and 1127 in *S. I. I. Vol. VI.*

No. 774 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1302 and records the gifts of Tārēśvara *Sāhasamalla*, son of Kapilēśvara *Sāhasamalla* of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka (Cuttack).

No. 776, dated Ś. 1307 or A. D. 1385, records the gift of 50 cows for supplying *pāyasam* (Milk-food) to God by Ayyadēva, son of Annamadēva Rāja of Orugallu (Warrangal). This is an important record showing that the Hindu Line of kings at Warrangal did not cease to exist. Though their fort was taken in A. D. 1323 and their Empire destroyed, still the Kakatiya scions continued to rule there.

No. 786 is a very important record of the King *Pratāpa Vira Narasimhadēva Rāja*. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A. D. 1390. It states that, when Bhaṁkr-Madana Rājulu (King himself?) was camping at Poṭṭnūru-Katakam in Visagapatam District, *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhi-vigrahi* (Secretary for peace and war) and *Bhūdayilēnka* (Commander-in-chief) Gōpala Jiyyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered *Pātra* Saṭidāsa Jiyyanna to render certain services such as fanning the God for which he endowed 4 *Puṭṭis* of land in the village of Naruva.

No. 787, dated Ś. 1312, records certain gifts of gold articles by Gōpaladāsa Jiyyanna mentioned in the record above.

No. 789, dated Ś. 1303, records the gift of 300 cows and 40 Māḍas for supplying sugar and other articles by Oḍḍādi Arjunadēva, a subordinate chief of the Gaṅga Emperor.

No. 790, dated Ś. 1312 or A. D. 1390, is a record of the King himself like No. 786 above. It states that (vāmkyā?) Madanarāja (Nṛsimha IV?) was camping in Poṭunuri-Katakam and *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhivigrahi* and *Buḍalenka* Gopala Jiyyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered *Pātra* Sajidāsa (Saṭidasa?) to provide certain offerings to God, and endowed for the same 4 *Puṭṭis* of land in the villages of Panchadhārila and Dimila, in Dimili *Vishaya*. Both these villages are existing even now. *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhivigrahi*, mentioned in this record and in No. 786 above, is the same officer who is mentioned in this King's Puri Plates (Second Grant) as being present when 2 villages were granted to a Brahmin Scholar. At that time, A. D. 1395-97, this officer (*Patra*) was raised to the position of a *Mahāpatra*.

No. 801, dated Ś. 1313 or A. D. 1391 records the gift of a *Doṇḍa Vanamāla* (Garland) by Visvanātha *Mahāsenāpati*, who was the *Srīkarana* (Writer of Accounts) and *Paṭṭanāyaka* (Alderman) of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka. He endowed the Treasury of the God with 10 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas for giving *prasadam* to those who render the services. Also, a garden-land was purchased and set apart for the purpose of supplying flower-garlands to God. The Donor named here is the same as the one who was present when the Second Grant mentioned in this King's Pur

Plates was made in A. D. 1395-97. He was also present in the King's room of worship on the occasion of his *Japusamaya* (Meditation).

No. 812, dated Ś. 1312, records the gift of a Mango-garden purchased in Pottnuru for 60 Māḍas by *Bhudoyilenka* (Commander-in-chief) Sri Dhara *Senāpati*. It was ordained that the annual rent of 4 Māḍas due from the garden should be utilised for providing offerings to God.

No. 817, dated Ś. 1325, records the gift of 40 Māḍas for a lamp by *Kalinga—partiksha* Kēśavadāsa Jiyyana.

No. 829, dated Ś. 1334, records gifts of cows and lands for certain services to God by Pratāpārjunadēva, son of Virārjunadēva of Oddādi. He is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Great Governor-in-chief). Oddādi is still existing as an important village and it was the home of Matsya-Vamśa Chiefs whose inscriptions are also found in Simhāchalam Temple.

No. 835, dated Ś. 1313, refers to the gifts of the wife of a *Kalinga-Partiksha* and *Mahāpātra*.

No. 846, dated Ś. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gift of 10 Māḍas by a *Mahāsenāpati* of Pottnur. No. 847, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of a daughter of *As'āna Mahāpasāyi* and *Budhālenkha* of Katak.

Nos. 848 and 849, dated Ś. 1335 and 1336 respectively, record the gifts of *Kalinga-paṭṭa-nāyaḍu* Guhi *Mahā-senāpati*, son of Padma *Mahā-senāpati* of Pottnūruviḍu. The gifts consisted of cash, lands and sheep.

No. 851 dated Ś. 1300 records the gifts of Komaraguru *Mahā-pātra* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam. No. 853, dated Ś. 1304, records the gift of Gurudāsa *Mahāsenāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 856, dated Ś. 1304 records the endowment of 15 Māḍas for Gods' services (fanning and flower-garlands) by Muktaḍēvi, the wife of Jalēśwara *Mahāpātra* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam, who was a Chālukya Chief.

No. 859 is an important inscription. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A.D. 1390. It records the gift of the King himself, who is called *Virapratāpa-Narasimhadēvarāya*. The gift, consisting of God's *prasādam*, should be enjoyed by Rāghāva Bhārati, disciple of Vāsudēva Bhārati, who should in return serve God at both the times of burning incense for the king's long life. Vāsudēva and Rāghava seem to have advanced the teachings of Ananda Tirtha by remaining in charge of important Maṭhams like Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam.

No. 861, dated Ś. 1310, records certain gifts for two temple-maids for rendering fanning services to God by Vāsudēva Bhārati, the disciple of Narasimha Bhārati, for his *Guru's* (Teacher's) merit.

No. 862, dated Ś. 1304, records the gifts of Aptanaḥari *Mahā-senāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

Srikūrmam inscription No, 1158, dated Śaka 1316 or A. D. 1394, records the gifts of an oil-maker called Talla. The king's (Nṛsimha IV's) lotus-feet are said to receive the praise of all kings.

No. 1208 is dated Śaka 1301 which is said to be the 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This proves that Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378 was the first year of the king's accession to the throne. It is a record of Durga, the wife of Svapnēśvara, who was the *Kalinga-parīksha*, *Mahā-pātra* and *Jenāmka*, and who gave 8 Malla-māḍas of gold for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God, and 18 more Māḍas for supplying oil daily for the lamps. He must be the same as the Svapnēśvara who is mentioned as a Commander in the Pūri Plates of this king (First Grant).

No. 1211 is also very important. It is dated Ś. 1302 which is said to correspond to the king's 4th *anka* or 3rd regnal year, proving again thereby that the king came to the throne in Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378. The inscription records the gift of one lamp, with an endowment of 20 Gaṇḍamāḍas for feeding the lamp daily with half a measure (*Adḍu*) of oil, by Sitādēvi, another wife of Sṛi Svapnēśvara, who was the *Kalinga-parīksha* and *Mahā-pātra* and who was also mentioned as *Mahā-sēnapati* in the Pūri Plates of this king. (First Grant).

Simhāchalam Inscriptions are really more important as they are more numerous and as they throw more new light on the social, religious and political conditions of the Gaṅga Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries.

No. 730, dated Śaka 1301, records the gift of the King which consisted of 5 *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Merapāṇḍu for *Gaṅgābhogam*.

No. 731 is dated Ś. 1328 or A. D. 1406. It records the grants of Pārvati Mahādēvi (Daughter of Vijjina or Vijjala) who was the wife of *Gajapati* Pratāpa Vīra Narasimhadēva Mahārāja for a *Bhogam* to God. The grants consisted of 300 Malla Māḍas which were deposited in Kataka *Bhāṇḍāram* (Treasury at Cuttack) and also the village of Mummaḍi-vāḍa lying between 4 villages, Viz. Anakāpalli, Nāvulapalli, Pisinikavāḍa and Eduvaka, in Kalingadēśa, into the custody of the King's *Sṛi Husta Pātra*. The *Bhogam* consisted of the offerings of various kinds of puddings to God. The title of *Gajapathi* for the king is significant.

No. 741, dated Ś. 1302, is a record of the King himself. He appointed Narana Jiyyana, the *Kalingamajji* and *Karahatramalla* to render certain services to God by giving him a salary of 4 Māḍas per year. It was made on the occasion of exposing God's true form (*Nija-svarūpam*) on *Vaiśākha Suddha Tṛtīya* (3rd day in the month of May).

No. 750, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of 5 Māḍas, for supplying daily a garland of *Tulasi* leaves to God, by Pōlu *Mahāsēnapati*, son of Mādhava *Mahāsēnapati* who was the *Kalinga-vyāpāri* of Poṭṭunūru.

No. 752, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of Birujādēvi, the *Mahādēvi* or Great Queen of *Gajapati Peddu* (Elder) Nṛsimhadēva IV and Tārādēvi, the *Mahādēvi* of Vīra Bhānudēva III, consisting of two *Vemjāmaralu* (Fans to fan the back portion of God). They endowed the Treasury of God with 8 Mallamāḍas so that the two Temple-maids (*Guḍisānis*) might enjoy the *prasādam* of God and render the prescribed services to Him.

No. 753 is a very important record. It is dated Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1383. It records the gift of one gold *Vemjāmaram* (Fan) to God and 8 Mallamāḍas into His Treasury for giving *prasādam* to a Temple-maid for rendering services to Him by Tārādēvi, the *Paṭṭa Mahādēvi* or Queen-consort of Vīra Nṛsimhadēva who is styled *Gajapati* or *Gajani-vahapati* (Lord of Groups of elephants) and who is said to be the destroyer of all enemies. Evidently, she is different from her name-sake mentioned in the inscription above. She must be her daughter-in-law. It is also clear that the king had several wives, viz, Birujādēvi, Tārādēvi and Pārvatidēvi. Tārādēvi claims to be the Queen-consort.

No. 755, dated Ś. 1302, records certain gifts of *Kalingamaji* and *Chāḷukyānvaya* Bhīma Raja's son, Dharmadāsa. The Cāhlukya Princes, on account of their important positions in the country and marriage alliances with the Gaṅga kings, occupied places of trust and power.

No. 757, dated Ś. 1302, records the grants of a *Kalingamaji's* son, Arava *Sāhasamallu*. No. 758, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of a Daḍyaṇa, related to Somanatha the *Kalinga-parīksha* and *Sundhi-vigrāhi*.

No. 763, dated Ś. 1314, records certain gifts of Vijñāna Sāgara Mavani *Srīpādalu* who seems to be a religious teacher that continued the work of Ananda Tīrtha in Kalinga Country.

No. 769 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1304 which is said to correspond to the king's 5th *anka* or 4th regnal year. This would also give Ś. 1300 or A. D. 1378 as the initial year of this king's reign. A certain Sōpum *Mahāsēnāpati* granted one *puṭṭi* of land for providing offerings to God during the regime of Sōmasra, who was *Bhoja-parīksha*, *Biṭṭara Budhāyilenka* and *Pātra*. Of these titles, the first means the Examiner of offerings to God, the second—an Oriya title—means Commander of the inner or reserve force, and the third means Military Chief in charge of Hill-forts.

No. 770, dated Ś. 1325 or A. D. 1403, records the gift of 10 Māḍas for a *Donḍavanamāla* (Garland) for God by a son of Meḍarāju who was *Pākanāḍu Chōla Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (The Governor-in-chief belonging to Pākanāḍu (Nellore) Chōla Line) and *Asika Daṇḍapaṭharu* (Commander of Asika Region in Ganjam District.)

No. 771, dated Ś. 1316, records the gifts of another commander-in-chief named Gabiru, who gave lands and cash for providing offerings to God and maintaining those who render services to God.

No. 1016 is a very important record because it is dated S'. 1324 or A.D. 1402 which is said to correspond to the king's 31st *anka* or 25th regnal year. This would give S'. 1300 or A.D. 1378 as the initial year of this King's reign. A gift for God's services, consisting of 5 Gold Māḍas, was made for the fulfilment of the King's desires.

No. 1017 is also an important record, dated S'. 1316 or A.D. 1394. It mentions the gift of five Gaṇḍamāḍas for God's feeding-service by the Great Queen (Mahādēvi), wife of Pratāpavira Nṛsimhadēva Rāja.

No. 1018 dated S'. 1236 or A.D. 1314 records the gift of Umā-dēvi, the wife of Eru *Senāpati*, for the burning of a lamp before God.

No. 1022, dated S'. 1318 or A.D. 1396 mentions the gift of 5 Māḍas, for reciting *Vishṇustōtram* (Verses in praise of God Vishṇu), by Kachu *Sandhi-vigrahi*, the son of Kṛṣṇānanda *Mahāpātra* of Vāraṇāsī-Kāṭakam. The latter is mentioned in the second Grant of Nṛsimha's Puri Plates as being present, along with other officers, at the time when the gift of 2 villages was made to a Brahmin by the King in A.D. 1395-97.

No. 1023, dated S'. 1317, records the gift of Maduki *Nāyaḍu* who was the *Veharāṇa* and *Sishṭu* of Poṭṭnūru-vidu.

No. 1027, dated S'aka 1337 or A.D. 1415 records the gift of 3 Gaṇḍamāḍas and 2 *Puṭṭis* of land for a lamp by Gōpināthadēva styled *Peḷḷaḍu* and *Rāyapātra*. He is also mentioned in the Puri Plates of the King as being present when the First Grant was made.

No. 1030, dated S'aka 1302 records the gift a *Puṭṭi* of land in Jantaru-Nāḍu by Siva Sōma of Dharmmapura who is styled *Mahānāyaḍu* and *Kālinga-danḍapāta*.

No. 1031, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas by Madiki *Jiyana* who had the titles of *Mukhalīnganātha dēva gaṇa* and *Kālinga-daḷara* and who was the son of Dasi *Ṣāhasamallu* of Poṭṭnūru-vidu.

No. 1033, dated S'. 1318 or A.D. 1396, records the gift of *Bhoga-parīksha* Arjuna Jiyana for providing services to God at the time of the *Bhōgam* of Uttamadēvi Mahādēvi, a wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1034, dated S'. 1323 or A.D. 1401, records gifts of cash and lands by the mother of Uttamadēvi for providing offerings to God on the occasion of the *Bhōgam* provided by herself.

No. 1035, dated S'. 1316 or A.D. 1394, is an interesting inscription. It records that the king's wife, Uttamadēvi gave for the fulfilment of all her desires for God's *Bhōgam* a part of the village of Pinagāndi which was purchased from Vijñāna-Sāgara (Ocean of learning) Mavani *Sripādālu* who got the same already as a gift from the King himself and his wife Nilādēvi—Mahādēvi.

Those who rendered the different services to God were ordained to get *prasādam* according to certain measurements. It was stated that the village *Bhōgyam* would enter the *Nagari-Bhaṇḍārām* (Town-Bank). The Treasury or Bank of God also received 53 Madas for oil for burning a lamp in perpetuity.

No. 1036, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393, records a gift of the King himself during the regime of *Kalinga-parīksha* and *Pātra* Gōpāla dāsa Jiyyana. The village of Gōranta was granted to Baya *Sāhasa-malla* for *Khaṇḍadhara* service to God.

No. 1038, dated S'. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records the gift of a village called Pratāpārjunapuram in Oḍḍādīdeśa for God's *Bhōgam*. It was ordained that, at the time of *Dhāpum* (Burning incense), *purusha-sūktam* (Vedic Hymns) should be recited.

No. 1041, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393 records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas, for supplying water for God's bath and for fanning Him at the time of burning incense by Satidāsa *Sundhi-vigrāhi*, the son of Nāgēśvara *Mahā-sēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi Kaṭakam.

- No. 1042, dated S'. 1314 or A. D. 1392, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamāḍas into God's Treasury for presenting a garland daily to God by Yesōda Nāyakāṇi, the wife of *Kalinga-parīksha*, *Mahā-pātra* Sivananda *Mahā-sēnāpati*. Evidently, this officer enjoyed great powers.

No. 1043, dated S'. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gifts of Sripati Mahāsēnāpati, the son of Purushōttama Mahāsēnāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1055, dated S'aka 1313, records the gift of two *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Khōnna by the King for conducting music before God. It was made for the king's long life during the regime of *Kalinga-parīksha*, *patusani*, *Mahāpātra* Bhaṁputaladu's son.

No. 1072, dated S'aka 1335 or A. D. 1413, records the gifts of Nīladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of the King and her mother Hiradēvi.

No. 1087, dated S'aka 1309, records the grant of 10 Maḍas for services to God by Narasimha *Mahā-sēnāpati*, who was Poṭṭnūruviḍu *Maṇḍala-karaṇam*.

No. 1096, dated S'aka 1305 records gifts to recite Vēdas before God by Chambu *Mahā-sēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1098, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 10 Silver Tankas into God's Treasury for fanning and an endowment for providing Him with garlands by *Kalinga-parīksha* Sankara Jiyyana, son of *Kalingamaji* Jagannatha Jiyyana.

No. 1105 dated S'aka 1336 or A. D. 1414 records gift of 20 Madas for supplying garlands to God by Jaḍēśvara Sṛī Chandana *Mahāpātra* and his brother.

No. 865, dated Ś. 1325, is a record of Kūnapa Rāja consisting of rich gifts (cows, cash and lands) for God's services. Among the executors of the services are two Commanders.

No. 871, dated Ś. 1321, records the gift of 25 Padmanidhi Gaṇḍa māḍas by Sūrya *pregaḍa*, the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom.

No. 872, dated also Ś. 1321, records the gift of 55 cows and 2 *puttis* of land by a sister of Pratāpārjunadēva, the Chief of Oḍḍādi.

No. 902, dated Ś. 1300, records the gifts of *Kalingamoji* Kṛṣṇāditya *Sāhasamalla*. No. 907, dated Ś. 1307 records the gift of Lakuvādēvi, the wife of Kṛṣṇānanda *Sandhivigrahi*.

No. 916, dated Ś. 1310, records the gifts of lands by Ambika dēvi, daughter of the King of Elamanchili. Probably, she was an Eastern Chālukya Princess. The lands were purchased from Kēśava Bhārati.

No. 918, dated Ś. 1303 records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Jivudāsa *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Bhaṛṇḍu *Sāhasamalla* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam.

No. 919 is a very interesting record. It is dated Ś. 1323 or A.D. 1401. It records the gift of 20 Sāsukāṇi (Silver) Tankas for purchasing iron for a pillar having the Capital of a Garuḍa bird. It was made by Viśvēśvaradēva *Chakravarti* of Elamanchili (Visag District), who had also the titles of *Sarvalōkāśraya* *Śrī Viṣṇuvardhana Mahārāja*. His titles indicate that his power was almost independent. The gift was made for the fulfilment of his desires and for the increase of his kingdom. It must be noted that, at that time, the Eastern Chālukya Chiefs of Śrīkūrmam, Elamanchili and Piṭṭapur were all subordinate to the Gaṅgas.

No. 922, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 25 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Mādhava *Sēnāpati*, son of Chellēśvara *Mahāsēnāpati*.

No. 923, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 10 *Padmanidhi* Gaṇḍamāḍas by *Kalinga* Beharāmādhī *Mahāsēnāpati*.

No. 929 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1309. A certain Lakhumādēvi, daughter of Śrī Rāmadēva of the Cuttack—Gaṅga Line, endowed for a garland, 5 *Padmanidhi* Gaṇḍamāḍas. On account of this endowment, one measure of *prasādam* would be given to two maids who would enjoy the same and supply daily a garland to God. As was the custom at that time, the various Donors endowed cash or lands or cows or sheep by enjoying which the services were to be rendered to God.

No. 958, dated Ś. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records a gift of 5 Māḍas for God's offering by *Bhogi-pariksha* Nārāyana *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Saṁkaradāsa *Mahāsēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam.

No 960, dated Ś. 1324, records a gift of 20 Gaṇḍamāḍas by *Śrikurāṇa Paṭanāyaṇḍu* Purushōttamadāsa *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Nārāyaṇadāsa *Padirāya* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam. He is the same as the one mentioned in the Pūri Plates of A. D. 1395—97.

No. 961, dated Ś. 1322, records gifts of Saubhāgya Rāju of Vīrakottam who was a subordinate Chief in the Kalinga-Gaṅga Empire.

No. 971, dated Ś. 1310, records gifts of Kūrmāyi Jīyyana of Bobbiliṇḍu which was also comprised in the Gaṅga Empire.

No. 972, dated Ś. 1305, records gifts of Malla Pregada who is the Minister of Oḍḍādi-Kingdom in the Visagapatam District.

No. 985, dated Ś. 1326, records gifts of Pātra Nārāyaṇa Sāmantarāya and his brother, Māṅku Sāhasamalla.

No. 1004 is an important record, dated Ś. 1301, mentioning the gift of one Puṭṭi of land in the village of Nēraḍupalli, by Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja Sarvalokāśraya Chakrovarti Jalēśvara Mahāpātra. These titles indicate, as stated already, that he was an Eastern Chalukya Chief, probably of Elamanchili Line, who rose to great power under the Gangas.

No. 1006 is also an important inscription, dated Ś. 1311, mentioning the gift of a Bhōgam to God, by Birujādēvi, wife of King Nṛsimhadēva. She endowed God's Treasury with the third part of the moiety in the village of Pinagāṇḍi, named after her husband Vijayanarasimhapura. Two Commanders were appointed to look after the conduct of Bhōgam.

No. 1007, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhōgam, similar to the one noted above, by Tārādēvi, the mother of the King.

No. 1008, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhōgam by Nīladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1009, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a Bhōgam by Uttama Mahāpātra, the Raja-Guru (Royal teacher and priest).

Nos. 1006-9 indicate that, in Ś. 1311 or A.D. 1389, the King's two wives Biraja and Nila and his mother and Priest visited the God of Simhāchalam and rendered one Bhōgam each to God and set apart for the offerings parts of the village of Pinagāṇḍi (Rāya Nṛsimhapuram). The various servants, rendering services, were provided with food and salaries.

It is clear that the king had several wives, viz, Pārvti, Tāra, Biruja and Nila. Another wife, Uttamadēvi, is also mentioned in Nos. 1017 and 1035 dated Ś. 1316 or A. D. 1394.

No. 1014 is also an important inscription. It is dated S'. 1323 or A.D. 1401. A certain Pōtaju's sons, natives of Munagapāka village endowed 5 Māḍas for fanning services to God in order to increase the King's merit. The gift was made in the name of the King himself during the camp of Kalinga-parīksha Gaṭudēva Jīyyanna and in the regime of Kalinga-veharāṇa Jōgēlēśvara.

No. 1015, dated S'. 1314 or A.D. 1392, records a gift of a Kōla (Torch-light) by the king, who is styled Srīvirādhivīra Narasimhadeva.

No. 774 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1302 and records the gifts of Tārēśvara *Sāhasamalla*, son of Kapilēśvara *Sāhasamalla* of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka (Cuttack).

No. 776, dated Ś. 1307 or A. D. 1385, records the gift of 50 cows for supplying *pāyasam* (Milk-food) to God by Ayyadēva, son of Annamadēva Rāja of Orugallu (Warrangal). This is an important record showing that the Hindu Line of kings at Warrangal did not cease to exist. Though their fort was taken in A. D. 1323 and their Empire destroyed, still the Kakatiya scions continued to rule there.

No. 786 is a very important record of the King *Pratāpa Vira Narasimhadēva Rāja*. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A. D. 1390. It states that, when Bhaṅkṛ-Madana Rājulu (King himself?) was camping at Poṭṭnūru-Katakam in Visagapatam District, *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhi-vigrahi* (Secretary for peace and war) and *Bhūdayilēnka* (Commander-in-chief) Gōpala Jiyyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered *Pātra* Saṭidāsa Jiyyanna to render certain services such as fanning the God for which he endowed 4 *Putṭis* of land in the village of Naruva.

No. 787, dated Ś. 1312, records certain gifts of gold articles by Gōpaladāsa Jiyyanna mentioned in the record above.

No. 789, dated Ś. 1303, records the gift of 300 cows and 40 Māḍas for supplying sugar and other articles by Oḍḍādi Arjunadēva, a subordinate chief of the Gaṅga Emperor.

No. 790, dated Ś. 1312 or A. D. 1390, is a record of the King himself like No. 786 above. It states that (vāmkyā?) Madanarāja (Nṛsimha IV?) was camping in Poṭunuri-Katakam and *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhivigrahi* and *Buḍalēnka* Gopala Jiyyanna were waiting in his presence. The king ordered *Pātra* Sajidāsa (Saṭidasa?) to provide certain offerings to God, and endowed for the same 4 *Putṭis* of land in the villages of Panchadhārā and Dimila, in Dimili *Viśhaya*. Both these villages are existing even now. *Pātra* Gōpinātha *Sandhivigrahi*, mentioned in this record and in No. 786 above, is the same officer who is mentioned in this King's Puri Plates (Second Grant) as being present when 2 villages were granted to a Brahmin Scholar. At that time, A. D. 1395-97, this officer (*Patra*) was raised to the position of a *Mahāpatra*.

No. 801, dated Ś. 1313 or A. D. 1391 records the gift of a *Donḍa Vanamāla* (Garland) by Visvanātha *Mahāsenāpati*, who was the *Sṛikaraṇa* (Writer of Accounts) and *Paṭṭanāyaka* (Alderman) of Vāraṇāsi-Kataka. He endowed the Treasury of the God with 10 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas for giving *prasadam* to those who render the services. Also, a garden-land was purchased and set apart for the purpose of supplying flower-garlands to God. The Donor named here is the same as the one who was present when the Second Grant mentioned in this King's Pur

Plates was made in A. D. 1395-97. He was also present in the King's room of worship on the occasion of his *Japasamaya* (Meditation).

No. 812, dated Ś. 1312, records the gift of a Mango-garden purchased in Poṭṭnuru for 60 Māḍas by *Bhudoyilēnka* (Commander-in-chief) Sri Dhara *Śēnāpati*. It was ordained that the annual rent of 4 Māḍas due from the garden should be utilised for providing offerings to God.

No. 817, dated Ś. 1325, records the gift of 40 Māḍas for a lamp by *Kalinga-parīksha* Kēśavadāsa Jiyyana.

No. 829, dated Ś. 1334, records gifts of cows and lands for certain services to God by Pratāpārjunadēva, son of Virārjunadēva of Oddādi. He is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Great Governor-in-chief). Oddādi is still existing as an important village and it was the home of Matsya-Vamśa Chiefs whose inscriptions are also found in Simhāchalam Temple.

No. 835, dated Ś. 1313, refers to the gifts of the wife of a *Kalinga-Parīksha* and *Mahāpātra*.

No. 846, dated Ś. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gift of 10 Māḍas by a *Mahāśēnāpati* of Poṭṭnūr. No. 847, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of a daughter of *As'āna Mahāpasāyi* and *Budhālenkha* of Katak.

Nos. 848 and 849, dated Ś. 1335 and 1336 respectively, record the gifts of *Kalinga-paṭṭa-nāyadu* Guhi *Mahā-sēnāpati*, son of Padma *Mahā-sēnāpati* of Poṭṭnūruviḍu. The gifts consisted of cash, lands and sheep.

No. 851 dated Ś. 1300 records the gifts of Komaraguru *Mahā-pātra* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam. No. 853, dated Ś. 1304, records the gift of Gurudāsa *Mahāśēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 856, dated Ś. 1304 records the endowment of 15 Māḍas for Gods' services (fanning and flower-garlands) by Muktaḍēvi, the wife of Jalēśwara *Mahāpātra* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam, who was a Chālukya Chief.

No. 859 is an important inscription. It is dated Ś. 1312 or A.D. 1390. It records the gift of the King himself, who is called *Vīrapratāpa-Narasimhadēvarāya*. The gift, consisting of God's *prasādam*, should be enjoyed by Rāghāva Bhārati, disciple of Vāsudēva Bhārati, who should in return serve God at both the times of burning incense for the king's long life. Vāsudēva and Rāghava seem to have advanced the teachings of Ananda Tirtha by remaining in charge of important Maṭhams like Simhāchalam and Srikūrmam.

No. 861, dated Ś. 1310, records certain gifts for two temple-maids for rendering fanning services to God by Vāsudēva Bhārati, the disciple of Narasimha Bhārati, for his *Guru's* (Teacher's) merit.

No. 862, dated Ś. 1304, records the gifts of Aptanahari *Mahā-sēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

Srikūrmam inscription No, 1158, dated Śaka 1316 or A. D. 1394, records the gifts of an oil-maker called Talla. The king's (Nṛsimha IV's) lotus-feet are said to receive the praise of all kings.

No. 1208 is dated Śaka 1301 which is said to be the 3rd *anka* or 2nd regnal year. This proves that Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378 was the first year of the king's accession to the throne. It is a record of Durga, the wife of Svapnēśvara, who was the *Kalinga-parīksha*, *Mahā-pātra* and *Jenāmkā*, and who gave 8 Malla-māḍas of gold for burning a lamp in perpetuity before God, and 18 more Māḍas for supplying oil daily for the lamps. He must be the same as the Svapnēśvara who is mentioned as a Commander in the Pūri Plates of this king (First Grant).

No. 1211 is also very important. It is dated Ś. 1307 which is said to correspond to the king's 4th *anka* or 3rd regnal year, proving again thereby that the king came to the throne in Śaka 1300 or A. D. 1378. The inscription records the gift of one lamp, with an endowment of 20 Gaṇḍamāḍas for feeding the lamp daily with half a measure (*1/4ḍa*) of oil, by Sītādēvi, another wife of Sṛī Svapnēśvara, who was the *Kalinga-parīksha* and *Mahā-pātra* and who was also mentioned as *Mahā-sēnapati* in the Pūri Plates of this king. (First Grant).

Simhāchalam Inscriptions are really more important as they are more numerous and as they throw more new light on the social, religious and political conditions of the Gaṅga Empire in the 14th and 15th centuries.

No. 730, dated Śaka 1301, records the gift of the King which consisted of 5 *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Merapāṇḍu for *Gaṅgābhogam*.

No. 731 is dated Ś. 1328 or A. D. 1406. It records the grants of Pārvaṭi Mahādēvi (Daughter of Vijjina or Vijjala) who was the wife of *Gajapati* Pratāpa Vīra Narasimhadēva Mahārāja for a *Bhogam* to God. The grants consisted of 300 Malla Māḍas which were deposited in Kataka *Bhāṇḍāram* (Treasury at Cuttack) and also the village of Mummaḍi-vāḍa lying between 4 villages, Viz. Anakāpalli, Nāvulapalli, Pisinikavāḍa and Edivaka, in Kalingadēśa, into the custody of the King's *Sṛī Hastu Pātra*. The *Bhogam* consisted of the offerings of various kinds of puddings to God. The title of *Gajapathi* for the king is significant.

No. 741, dated Ś. 1302, is a record of the King himself. He appointed Narana Jiyyana, the *Kalingamajji* and *Karahatramalla* to render certain services to God by giving him a salary of 4 Māḍas per year. It was made on the occasion of exposing God's true form (*Nija-svarāpam*) on *Vaiśākha Suddha Tṛtīya* (3rd day in the month of May).

No. 750, dated Ś. 1313, records the gift of 5 Māḍas, for supplying daily a garland of *Tulasi* leaves to God, by Pōlu *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Mādhava *Mahāsēnāpati* who was the *Kalinga-vyāpāri* of Poṭṭunūru.

No. 752, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of Birujādēvi, the *Mahādēvi* or Great Queen of *Gajapati Peddu* (Elder) Nṛsimhadēva IV and Tārādēvi, the *Mahādēvi* of Vīrabhānudēva III, consisting of two *Vemjāmaralu* (Fans to fan the back portion of God). They endowed the Treasury of God with 8 Mallamāḍas so that the two Temple-maids (*Guḍisānis*) might enjoy the *prasādam* of God and render the prescribed services to Him.

No. 753 is a very important record. It is dated Ś. 1305 or A. D. 1383. It records the gift of one gold *Vemjāmaram* (Fan) to God and 8 Mallamāḍas into His Treasury for giving *prasādam* to a Temple-maid for rendering services to Him by Tārādēvi, the *Paṭṭa Mahādēvi* or Queen-consort of Vīra Nṛsimhadēva who is styled *Gajapati* or *Gajani-vahapati* (Lord of Groups of elephants) and who is said to be the destroyer of all enemies. Evidently, she is different from her name-sake mentioned in the inscription above. She must be her daughter-in-law. It is also clear that the king had several wives, viz, Birujādēvi, Tārādēvi and Pārvatidēvi. Tārādēvi claims to be the Queen-consort.

No. 755, dated Ś. 1302, records certain gifts of *Kalingamoji* and *Chāḷukyānvaya* Bhīma Raja's son, Dharmadāsa. The Cāhlukya Princes, on account of their important positions in the country and marriage alliances with the Gaṅga kings, occupied places of trust and power.

No. 757, dated Ś. 1302, records the grants of a *Kalingamoji's* son, Arava *Sāhasamallu*. No. 758, dated Ś. 1305, records the gifts of a Daḍyaṇa, related to Somanatha the *Kalinga-parīksha* and *Sundhi-vigrāhi*.

No. 763, dated Ś. 1314, records certain gifts of Vijñāna Sāgara Mavani *Srīpādālu* who seems to be a religious teacher that continued the work of Ananda Tīrtha in Kalinga Country.

No. 769 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1304 which is said to correspond to the king's 5th *anka* or 4th regnal year. This would also give Ś. 1300 or A. D. 1378 as the initial year of this king's reign. A certain Sōpum *Mahāsēnāpati* granted one *puṭṭi* of land for providing offerings to God during the regime of Sōmasra, who was *Bhoja-parīksha*, *Biṭṭara Budhāyilēnka* and *Pātra*. Of these titles, the first means the Examiner of offerings to God, the second—an Oriya title—means Commander of the inner or reserve force, and the third means Military Chief in charge of Hill-forts.

No. 770, dated Ś. 1325 or A. D. 1403, records the gift of 10 Māḍas for a *Donḍavanamāla* (Garland) for God by a son of Meḍarāju who was *Pākanāḍu Chōla Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (The Governor-in-chief belonging to Pākanāḍu (Nellore) Chōla Line) and *Asika Daṇḍapaṭhara* (Commander of Aska Region in Ganjam District.)

No. 771, dated Ś. 1316, records the gifts of another commander-in-chief named Gabiru, who gave lands and cash for providing offerings to God and maintaining those who render services to God.

No. 1016 is a very important record because it is dated S'. 1324 or A.D. 1402 which is said to correspond to the king's 31st *anka* or 25th regnal year. This would give S'. 1300 or A. D. 1378 as the initial year of this King's reign. A gift for God's services, consisting of 5 Gold Māḍas, was made for the fulfilment of the King's desires.

No. 1017 is also an important record, dated S'. 1316 or A. D. 1394. It mentions the gift of five Gaṇḍamāḍas for God's feeding-service by the Great Queen (Mahādēvi), wife of Pratāpavīra Nṛsimhadēva Rāja.

No. 1018 dated S'. 1236 or A.D. 1314 records the gift of Umā-dēvi, the wife of Eru *Sēnāpati*, for the burning of a lamp before God.

No. 1022, dated S'. 1318 or A. D. 1396 mentions the gift of 5 Māḍas, for reciting *Vishṇustōtram* (Verses in praise of God Vishṇu), by Kachu *Sandhi-vigrahi*, the son of Kṛṣṇānanda *Mahāpātra* of Vāraṇāsi-Kāṭakam. The latter is mentioned in the second Grant of Nṛsimha's Puri Plates as being present, along with other officers, at the time when the gift of 2 villages was made to a Brahmin by the King in A.D. 1395-97.

No. 1023, dated S'. 1317, records the gift of Maduki *Nāyaḍu* who was the *Veharaṇa* and *Sishṭu* of Poṭṭnūruvīdu.

No. 1027, dated S'aka 1337 or A. D. 1415 records the gift of 3 Gaṇḍamāḍas and 2 *Puṭṭis* of land for a lamp by Gōpināthadēva styled *Peḷgaḍu* and *Rāyapātra*. He is also mentioned in the Puri Plates of the King as being present when the First Grant was made.

No. 1030, dated S'aka 1302 records the gift a *Puṭṭi* of land in Jantaru-Nāḍu by Siva Sōma of Dharmmapura who is styled *Mahānāyaḍu* and *Kalinga-danḍapāta*.

No. 1031, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 5 Padmanidhi-Gaṇḍamāḍas by Madiki *Jīyana* who had the titles of *Mukhalinganātha dēva gana* and *Kalinga-dalāra* and who was the son of Dasi *Ṣāhasamallu* of Poṭṭnūru-vīdu.

No. 1033, dated S'. 1318 or A. D. 1396, records the gift of *Bhōga-parīksha* Arjuna Jiyana for providing services to God at the time of the *Bhōgam* of Uttamadēvi Mahādēvi, a wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1034, dated S'. 1323 or A. D. 1401, records gifts of cash and lands by the mother of Uttamadēvi for providing offerings to God on the occasion of the *Bhōgam* provided by herself.

No. 1035, dated S'. 1316 or A. D. 1394, is an interesting inscription. It records that the king's wife, Uttamadēvi gave for the fulfilment of all her desires for God's *Bhōgam* a part of the village of Pina-gāndi which was purchased from Vijñana-Sāgara (Ocean of learning) Mavani *Srīpādālu* who got the same already as a gift from the King himself and his wife Nilādēvi—Mahādēvi.

Those who rendered the different services to God were ordained to get *prasādam* according to certain measurements. It was stated that the village *Bhogyam* would enter the *Nagari-Bhandāram* (Town-Bank). The Treasury or Bank of God also received 53 Madas for oil for burning a lamp in perpetuity.

No. 1036, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393, records a gift of the King himself during the regime of *Kalinga-pariksha* and *Pātra* Gōpāla dāsa Jiyyana. The village of Gōranta was granted to Baya *Sāhasa-malla* for *Khaṇḍadhara* service to God.

No. 1038, dated S'. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records the gift of a village called Pratāpārjunapuram in Oḍḍādidēśa for God's *Bhogam*. It was ordained that, at the time of *Dhāpam* (Burning incense), *purusha-sūktam* (Vedic Hymns) should be recited.

No. 1041, dated S'. 1315 or A. D. 1393 records the gift of 10 Gaṇḍamāḍas, for supplying water for God's bath and for fanning Him at the time of burning incense by Satidāsa *Sandhi-vigrāhi*, the son of Nāgēśvara *Mahā-senāpati* of Vāraṇāsi Kaṭakam.

No. 1042, dated S'. 1314 or A. D. 1392, records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamāḍas into God's Treasury for presenting a garland daily to God by Yesōda Nāyakāṇi, the wife of *Kalinga-pariksha*, *Mahā-pātra* Sivananda *Mahā-senāpati*. Evidently, this officer enjoyed great powers.

No. 1043, dated S'. 1336 or A. D. 1414, records the gifts of Srīpati Mahāsenāpati, the son of Purushōttama Mahāsenāpati of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1055, dated S'aka 1313, records the gift of two *puṭṭis* of land in the village of Khōnna by the King for conducting music before God. It was made for the king's long life during the regime of *Kalinga-pariksha*, *patusani*, *Mahāpātra* Bhaṁputaladu's son.

No. 1072, dated S'aka 1335 or A. D. 1413, records the gifts of Niladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of the King and her mother Hiradēvi.

No. 1087, dated S'aka 1309, records the grant of 10 Maḍas for services to God by Narasimha *Mahā-senāpati*, who was Poṭṭnūruviḍu *Maṇḍala-karaṇam*.

No. 1096, dated S'aka 1305 records gifts to recite Vēdas before God by Chambu *Mahā-senāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Kaṭakam.

No. 1098, dated S'aka 1324, records the gift of 10 Silver Tankas into God's Treasury for fanning and an endowment for providing Him with garlands by *Kalinga-pariksha* Sankara Jiyyana, son of *Kalingamaṇi* Jagannatha Jiyyana.

No. 1105 dated S'aka 1336 or A. D. 1414 records gift of 20 Madas for supplying garlands to God by Jaḍēśvara Srī Chandana *Mahāpātra* and his brother.

No. 865, dated Ś. 1325, is a record of Kūnapa Rāja consisting of rich gifts (cows, cash and lands) for God's services. Among the executors of the services are two Commanders.

No. 871, dated Ś. 1321, records the gift of 25 Padmanidhi Gaṇḍa māḍas by Sūrya *pregaḍa*, the Minister of Oddādi Kingdom.

No. 872, dated also Ś. 1321, records the gift of 55 cows and 2 *puṭṭis* of land by a sister of Pratāpārjunadēva, the Chief of Oddādi.

No. 902, dated Ś. 1300, records the gifts of *Kalingamañi* Kṛṣṇāditya *Sāhasamalla*. No. 907, dated Ś. 1307 records the gift of Lakuvādēvi, the wife of Kṛṣṇānanda *Sandhivigrahi*.

No. 916, dated Ś. 1310, records the gifts of lands by Ambikadēvi, daughter of the King of Elamanchili. Probably, she was an Eastern Chālukya Princess. The lands were purchased from Kēśava Bhārati.

No. 918, dated Ś. 1303 records the gift of 5 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Jivudāsa *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Bhaṇḍu *Sāhasamalla* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam.

No. 919 is a very interesting record. It is dated Ś. 1323 or A.D. 1401. It records the gift of 20 Sāsukāṇi (Silver) Tankas for purchasing iron for a pillar having the Capital of a Garuḍa bird. It was made by Viśvēśvaradēva *Chakravarti* of Elamanchili (Visag District), who had also the titles of *Sarvalōkāśraya* *Śrī Viśṇuvardhana Mahārāja*. His titles indicate that his power was almost independent. The gift was made for the fulfilment of his desires and for the increase of his kingdom. It must be noted that, at that time, the Eastern Chālukya Chiefs of Śrīkūrmam, Elamanchili and Piṭṭapur were all subordinate to the Gaṅgas.

No. 922, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 25 Gaṇḍamāḍas by Mādhava *Sēnāpati*, son of Chellēśvara *Mahāsēnāpati*.

No. 923, dated Ś. 1300, records the gift of 10 *Padmanidhi* Gaṇḍamāḍas by *Kalinga Beharāmādhī Mahāsēnāpati*.

No. 929 is an important record. It is dated Ś. 1309. A certain Lakhumādēvi, daughter of Śrī Rāmadēva of the Cuttack—Gaṅga Line, endowed for a garland, 5 *Padmanidhi* Gaṇḍamāḍas. On account of this endowment, one measure of *prasādam* would be given to two maids who would enjoy the same and supply daily a garland to God. As was the custom at that time, the various Donors endowed cash or lands or cows or sheep by enjoying which the services were to be rendered to God.

No. 958, dated Ś. 1324 or A. D. 1402, records a gift of 5 Māḍas for God's offering by *Bhōgī-parīksha* Nārāyana *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Saṁkaradāsa *Mahāsēnāpati* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam.

No 960, dated Ś. 1324, records a gift of 20 Gaṇḍamāḍas by *Śrīkurāṇa Paṭanāyaṇḍu* Purushōttamadāsa *Mahāsēnāpati*, son of Nārāyaṇadāsa *Padirāya* of Vāraṇāsi-Katakam. He is the same as the one mentioned in the Pūri Plates of A. D. 1395—97.

No. 961, dated Ś. 1322, records gifts of Saubhāgya Rāju of Vīrakottam who was a subordinate Chief in the Kalinga-Gaṅga Empire.

No. 971, dated Ś. 1310, records gifts of Kūrmāyi Jīyyana of Bobbili~~vīdu~~ which was also comprised in the Gaṅga Empire.

No. 972, dated Ś. 1305, records gifts of Malla *Pregada* who is the Minister of Oḍḍādi Kingdom in the Visagapatam District.

No. 985, dated Ś. 1326, records gifts of *Pātra* Nārāyaṇa *Sāmantarāya* and his brother, Māṅku *Sāhasamalla*.

No. 1004 is an important record, dated Ś. 1301, mentioning the gift of one *Puṭṭi* of land in the village of Nēraḍupalli, by *Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja Sarvalokāśraya Chakrovarti* Jalēśvara *Mahāpātra*. These titles indicate, as stated already, that he was an Eastern Chalukya Chief, probably of Elamanchili Line, who rose to great power under the Gangas.

No. 1006 is also an important inscription, dated Ś. 1311, mentioning the gift of a *Bhōgam* to God, by Birujādēvi, wife of King Nṛsimhadēva. She endowed God's Treasury with the third part of the moiety in the village of Pinagāṇḍi, named after her husband Vijayanarasimhapura. Two Commanders were appointed to look after the conduct of *Bhōgam*.

No. 1007, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a *Bhōgam*, similar to the one noted above, by Tārādēvi, the mother of the King.

No. 1008, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a *Bhōgam* by Niladēvi Mahādēvi, the wife of King Nṛsimhadēva.

No. 1009, dated Ś. 1311, records the gift of a *Bhōgam* by Uttama *Mahāpātra*, the Raja-Guru (Royal teacher and priest).

Nos. 1006-9 indicate that, in Ś. 1311 or A.D. 1389, the King's two wives Biraja and Nila and his mother and Priest visited the God of Simhāchalam and rendered one *Bhōgam* each to God and set apart for the offerings parts of the village of Pinagāṇḍi (Rāya Nṛsimhapuram). The various servants, rendering services, were provided with food and salaries.

It is clear that the king had several wives, viz, Pārvti, Tāra, Biruja and Nila. Another wife, Uttamadēvi, is also mentioned in Nos. 1017 and 1035 dated Ś. 1316 or A. D. 1394.

No. 1014 is also an important inscription. It is dated S'. 1323 or A.D. 1401. A certain Pōtaju's sons, natives of Munagapāka village endowed 5 Māḍas for fanning services to God in order to increase the King's merit. The gift was made in the name of the King himself during the camp of *Kalinga-parīksha* Gaṭudēva Jīyyanna and in the regime of *Kalinga-veharāṇa* Jōgēlēśvara.

No. 1015, dated S'. 1314 or A.D. 1392, records a gift of a *Kōla* (Torch-light) by the king, who is styled *Śrīvīrādhivīra* Narasimhadeva.

REVIEW.

POPULAR YOGA Vol. I—ASANAS Part I.

BY KUALAYANANDA.

'Yoga' has as its aim self development and perfection. In its higher stages it is purely a discipline of the mind for the attainment of spiritual perfection. Text books on Hatha Yoga such as Sivasamhita, Gheranda Samhita, Hatha Yoga Pradipika, portions of certain puranas and some minor yoga upanishads teach various yoga practices such as regulation of inhalation and exhalation, complete suspension or stoppage of them called 'Pranayana' and physiological postures called 'Asanas' which are intended to lead on to the higher mental exercises such as Dhyana and Samadhi. These Asanas or physical exercises have their influence on the mind. In the books above mentioned, the description of the Asanas is not so explicit as to permit a lay reader to practise them. Hence during the last 10 years several efforts have been made to explain the usefulness of these yogic exercises for physical culture. Foremost among these attempts is what the splendid institution called Kaivalyadhama which was established in 1924 at Lonavala, has been doing—very useful and original research work in yogic physical and spiritual culture. It has been publishing the results in its quarterly magazine 'yoga mimamsa'. Its editor Srimat Kuvalayananda (J.G. Gune) has now issued the small manual—Asanas Part I. It contains abstract of the information regarding the Asanas already published in Yoga Mimamsa. Though an abstract, it contains full information regarding the Asanas so as to enable any one to faithfully perform the Asanas and derive the benefit thereof. The author has selected only 20 out of the reputed 84 Asanas, as these only are well suited for general use. He rightly divides them into two kinds, cultural and meditative, the former being intended for those who seek only physiological advantage such as physical culture and general health, and the latter intended for those who are anxious to secure spiritual advantages also. It is claimed that the cultural poses aim at giving best organic vigour to the whole body. When properly performed they ensure an effective automatic massage of the digestive and abdominal organs, proper elimination of the waste products and keep the nervous mechanism in an efficient condition, whereas the spiritual or meditative aim at training the spinal cord and the brain for the interaction of kundalini. These yogic Asanas or poses have been from time immemorial regarded as the preliminary steps for the spiritual culture of all shades of the Hindu and Buddhist sects. The old and new Upanishads refer to them. Patanjali (350 B.C.) in his famous 'yoga sutras' includes 'Asanas' as item No. 3 of his yogic curriculum. In sutra or aphorism No. 46 he states:—'Stable and easy Asana or Posture is an aid to attainment of yoga method of concentration. Our author gives clear instructions for the performance of these Asanas, explains their technique, notes the cultural advantages and gives warning where necessary regarding the dangers that lie in the path of the novice, who is practising these Asanas. In the two Appendices, the author gives a full course and a short course in yogic physical culture for an average man of health. There is not the slightest doubt that the author has succeeded in the short compass of this Volume in presenting an illuminating and instructive account of Asanas.

P.R.

Accounts for the Quarter.

Subscriptions received during the quarter ending with 30-6-33.

1. *Members.*

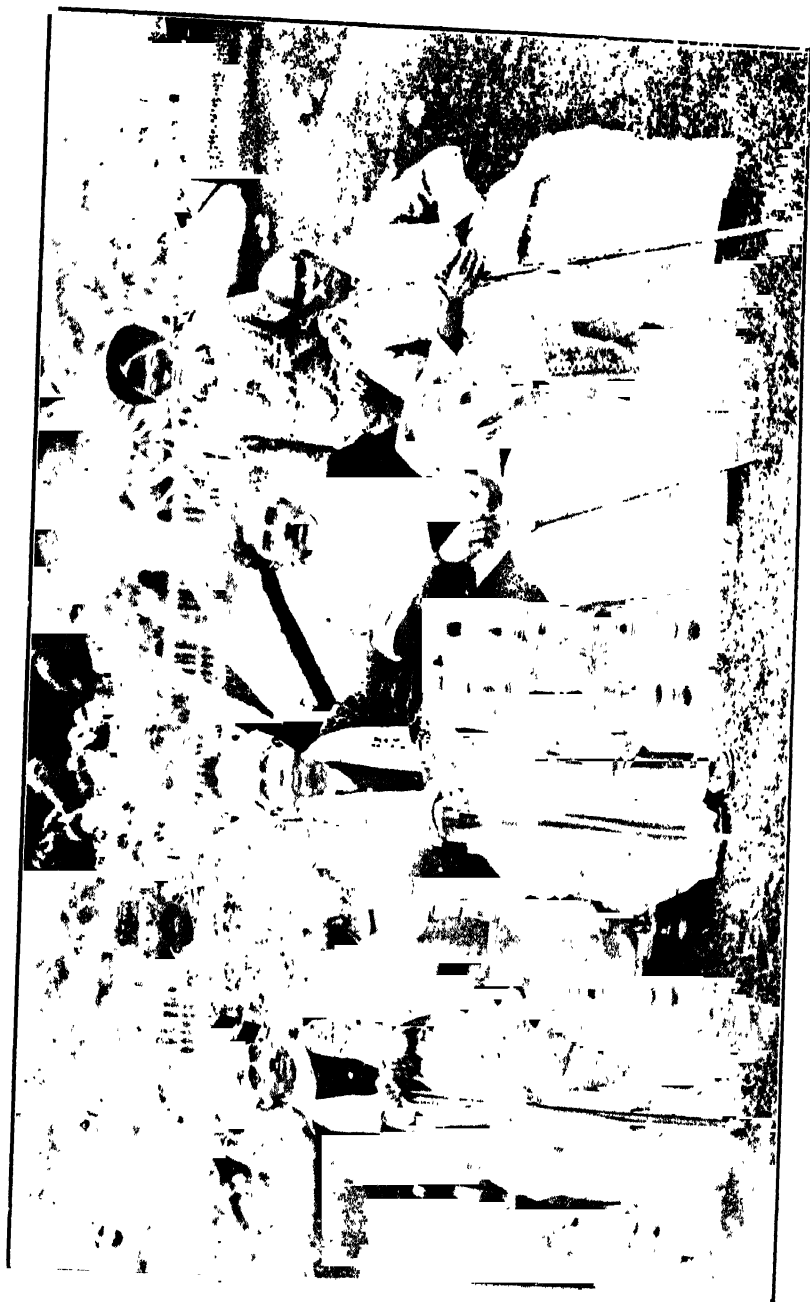
<i>Messrs.</i>	Rs. A. P.	<i>Messrs.</i>	Rs. A. P.
Jaganadha Rao V.	3 8 0	Parthasaradhi K.	3 8 0
Ganganna Jayanti	4 0 0	Krishnamachari N. Ch.	3 8 0
Subba Rao Rebbapragada	4 0 0	Nagabhushanam Choudari K.	3 8 0
Venkatesam N. K.	4 0 0	Ramabrahmam G.	3 8 0
Ramana Rao Y. V.	0 12 0	Varada Rao G.	4 0 0
Kameswara Rao D. Ch.	5 0 0	Kameswara Rao P.	4 0 0
Fatteh Mahomad.	1 0 0	Sivaramaraju Ch.	3 8 0
Sriramamurti D.	4 0 0	Subba Rao Manda.	3 8 0
Rama Rao M.	2 15 0	Appalaraju K.	3 8 0
Krishna Rao B. V.	4 0 0	Narasimharaju C. V. S.	3 8 0
Appa Rao Vaddadi.	12 0 0	Suryanarayana M.	4 0 0
Veeraraghavachari S. E.	3 0 0		
		Total Rs.	88 3 0

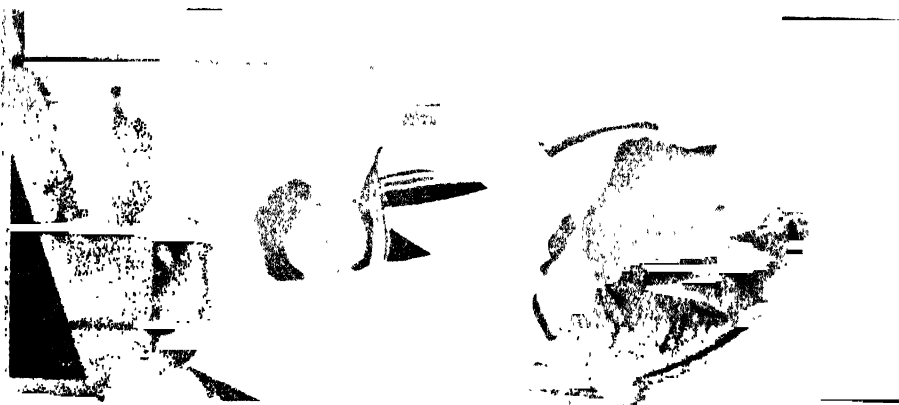
2. *Subscribers.*

The Allahabad University	6 8 0
Government Sanskrit College, Benares.	6 8 0
	Total Rs. 13 0 0
	Grand Total Rs. 101 3 0

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Treasurer.

Organisers of the Rāja Rāja Day Celebration





JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOLUME VIII. October 1933 & January 1934. Parts 2 & 3.

DECENNIAL CELEBRATIONS 14TH APRIL 1932.

The Society was started in 1922 and the publication of the Quarterly Journal commenced in July 1926. It was registered in 1927 under Act XXI of 1860. The aims and objects of the Society have been as follows:—

- (1) To promote historical research in Andhra Desa and record the results of such research.
- (2) To organise meetings for imparting historical knowledge to the people.
- (3) To celebrate historical occasions and hold exhibitions.
- (4) To publish a journal of historical research and special books if any.
- (5) To organise a research library.
- (6) To co-operate with other learned societies engaged in similar work as well as with individual scholars,

In pursuance of the objects mentioned above, the Society has been able to publish Seven Volumes of the Journal, celebrate three Historical Events and bring out two Commemoration Volumes in Telugu. The Society has all along been the only Research Society for the whole of the Andhradesa. Since it completed ten years of useful existence, the Honorary Secretary Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T. and the Editor of Kakatiya Sanchika Mr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed. and the Treasurer

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao, B.A., B.L. thought it desirable to celebrate the Decennium in order to review the work of the Society in the past and devise means for further improvement in the future. The idea was approved by the Managing Council in its Meeting held on 25th December, 32. Accordingly, an appeal was issued to the Public towards the close of 1932 and received warm welcome from many scholars all over India. It was resolved to request Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar M.A., PH.D M.R.A.S. F.A.S.B. Retired Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University to preside over the celebrations and the learned Doctor kindly accepted the invitation. Several scholars responded to the appeal and sent valuable Papers to be published in the *Commemoration Volume*.

The Decennial celebrations began in the early morning of the 14th of April 1933 with a procession of the Members of the Society and the public along with the President. It started from the Society's Office in Nyapati Buildings and reached the Government Training College, Rajahmundry where the Conference was opened by M. R. Ry. Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Garu B.A., B.L., the veteran Andhra Scholar and the Honorary President of the Society.

In declaring the celebrations open, he gave the following address:

Gentlemen,

I thank you very much for the honour you have done me by asking me to open this conference. The conference is intended to mark the close of ten years of work of the Andhra Historical Research Society. All honour is due to the little band of young men who conceived the idea of starting the Society and some of them are here today. It is a great honour to them that they should have conceived the idea of starting an Association of this sort, and have given effect to it. That Association has gradually risen and has just now completed the first ten years of its life. Of course ten years is nothing in the life of an Association like this. During these ten years the Association has done a good amount of work and it has shown signs of very vigorous youth and promises to do much better work in the coming years. I was closely connected with the Association and was President for a number of years. I gave it up because I found I could not do much useful work as President consistently with my other engagements and in consequence of the fact that I could not live in Rajahmundry in virtue of my office. I, therefore, suggested that one who is in a position to do better work should be chosen in my place. Nevertheless, I continue to take interest in this Association not only because it is the only association of its kind in this country but also as it concerns a subject in which I have been taking interest from my early age.

This association ought to do research work. I will say it from first hand experience, of the work of this and similar associations that the first great requisite which conduces to the success of all associations of this kind is that it should be the business of one or two individuals who feel so zealous in the work of the association that they are prepared to work for it, and to die for it so as to be said to be fully mad. Dr. Hultchz, the pioneer of Archaeological work in India referring to which he used to ask his assistants Messrs. Venkiah and Krishnasastry, "Have you come across any man who is mad enough to take interest in Epigraphy?" It was my practice, wherever I went and wherever I served to collect epigraphs. I am going to exhibit them. It was my almost invariable practice to take down inscriptions. They were found mostly in temples. Some of the people thought that the Inscriptions they gave to me were the proofs of the hoards of money buried under the idol. They wanted to get these hoards of wealth. Nothing better than this was known about the inscriptions. Those first men who began to take interest in this were led on to work. Now the movement has spread to a large extent and you find many young men taking interest in it and distinguishing themselves in this work. Nevertheless, an association of this sort, whether it be this association or any other association, must be run by one or two people who are very enthusiastic of it, and fully mad of it. About this, you cannot distribute the responsibility of running the institution. This must be done by one man to whom you must give the responsibility. I feel that this responsibility is sometimes not visible especially in these young men. They are in a hurry to rush to conclusions, they want to rush into print to proclaim a new discovery. Well, that is not a very desirable state of mind. Whether you publish it, or another man publishes it, don't rush into the public, don't announce the discovery until you are sure of it and until you have established to your own satisfaction and cannot be assailed of it. Darwin and Russel Wallace were such people. Russel did not want to publish his work until he was sure of his facts. If you publish a false theory, simply for your glorification, before long it will be demolished. I warn all young men who are working in the field, (Take it from an old man) not to be guided by the consideration that you have to be the first to pronounce about any theory. Take it, test it by all ways and then, when you are quite satisfied about it, publish it. In this respect Dr. Hultchz set a good example to all of us. He is a typical great scholar. He is a very cautious man. He won't come to the conclusion until he is quite sure that it is correct. I never came in personal contact with him. But there was a good deal of correspondence between us and I was trained by him in this respect. He advised me like that. I owe a great deal of gratitude for his advice. I advise all of you and request you not to be very hasty in your conclusions but wait to test

them, that is the way in which you have to tackle the subject. So far as our Society is concerned, the Journal is being regularly published. The tone of the Journal leaves some room for improvement. Those that contribute articles to the Journal must realise that their prestige as well as that of the Journal and of the Society depends greatly upon the statements that they make. So I hope the writers who will contribute their articles to the journal hereafter will take care that they will only suggest those conclusions which are mature and well considered. If we proceed on these lines our Society is bound to have a very long and prosperous future before it; and I believe this is the only Society of its sort in South India. It has been concentrating all its energies upon Historical Research. With these few remarks, I open the Conference and wish the Andhra Historical Research Society a long and prosperous career and request Dr. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar to preside over the further proceedings of the conference. I now declare the Conference open.

Dr. Krihnaswamy Ayyangar, the President, then spoke as follows:
Gentlemen,

I thank you for the great interest taken by you in listening to the remarks of our veteran scholar and my old friend, Mr. Ramiah Pantulu garu. These remarks came apt from a veteran in the field whose acquaintance with the society itself was far more intimate than that of mine. They have come from one who has been connected with the work of the association from the very beginning. Some of the Copper-plates that he has edited have shown the wide knowledge of the gentleman and I had the chance of acquaintance with him ever since he came to Madras. The Society worked all these ten years though it has had its own vicissitudes. You will see how it struggled against all infantile ailments and survived its natural troubles and after surviving them published a Journal which is entering on its eighth year, completing 7 volumes of the journal having produced already 28 quarterly numbers. I wish you God speed and I join in the good wish of my friend that the society may have a bright future before it and call upon the Secretary to proceed with the further agenda.

Then, the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. Subba Rao read the following report of the work of the Society during the Decennium:--

INTRODUCTORY.

THE ORIGIN, ACHIEVEMENTS AND ASPIRATIONS.

About September 1921, Messrs. C. Veerabhadra Rao, M. Somasekharasarma, C. Narayana Rao M.A., L.T. and B. V. Krishna Rao B.A., B.L. started a Society called "Andhradeseyaitihasa Parisodhaka

Mandali" (Andhradesa Historical Research Society) with Mr. C. Narayana Rao as President and Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao as Secretary.

It does not appear either from the records of the Society or from information got from those who first started it that it had a habitation or constitution or that it had any members in it till the middle of January 1923. However, on 13th June 1922, one of its members late Mr. I. Kanakachellam M.A., L.T. Headmaster of the Rajah's High School, Parlakimidi, suggested, as a result of his perusal of the Government Epigraphical Reports, that the 5th centenary celebration of the Coronation of Raja Raja Narendra of Rajahmundry should be celebrated and so the idea was at once taken up and translated into action, chiefly by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao.

In the editorial preface to the work, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the first Secretary of the Society states how they resolved to hold the centenary celebrations on 8th September 1922 and conduct a Historical Exhibition and bring out a Raja Raja Sanchika in memory of the event and how they sent appeals to all scholars to contribute papers and give pecuniary aid. It is interesting to note that when they approached the *Andhra Bhishma* Nyapati Subba Rao Pantulu Garu, they got the first big donation of Rs. 50 from him. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao then traces his work for the society, how he went about collecting donations and articles for the work and how finally he selected Mr. C. R. Reddi to be the President and was in turn selected by him to be the Editor of the work.

The minutes of the first ordinary meeting of the Mandali held on 16-1-1923 with only 3 members viz. C. Narayana Rao (President) B. V. Krishna Rao (Secretary) and C. Veerabhadra Rao show that the accounts submitted by the Secretary from 13-6-1922 (the date of the starting of the Society), to 13-1-1923, the date of the first meeting of the Mandali whose Minutes are on record for the first time were passed. The accounts show that by 6-1-23, a sum of Rs. 971 was collected by way of donations and Rs. 904-1-3 spent leaving a balance of Rs. 66-14-9 with the Secretary.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Mandali held on 7-10-23 with Mr. J. Ganganna in the chair show that there was a draft constitution, that he was elected as President and Mr. D. Rammohanarao as Secretary and three more members, Messrs. C. Virabhadrarao, C. Narayanarao and D. Venkatarao as councillors and that the Secretary was "empowered to take charge of all the accounts, records, money, books, blocks and other property of the Mandali at once from Mr. B. V. Krishnarao the ~~ex~~ Secretary."

Mr. D. Rammohanarao having resigned his Secretaryship on 10-10-24 the present Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao M.A., L.T. was elected.

He found the first ex-secretary's resignation letter in the papers taken charge of. He persuaded him to withdraw the same and to work with him in close co-operation so that his devout and sincere wish of having a society with a Reading Room, Library, Museum and a quarterly journal in English for Andhra Desa might be realised. According to the minutes of a General body meeting held on 30-11-24 it was resolved to celebrate the Kalinga Day and to bring out a Kalinga Sanchika in Telugu. Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and R. Subbarao were requested to report to the society about the practicability of starting a Quarterly Journal. At the same time Messrs. C. Veerabhadrarao, C. Narayanarao, M. Ramakrishna Kavi, M. Somasekhara Sarma and R. Subbarao were deputed to attend the Third All India Oriental Conference held at Madras where their contributions were read and subsequently published in the Society's Journal. Several new members were enrolled. The Secretary was also empowered to do every thing necessary for the production of the Kalinga Sanchika. In July 1925, Mr. D. Venkatarao, the treasurer, having resigned Mr. A. Sankararao was elected in his place. With his help and co-operation, the Secretary was able to rent two almyrahs in the Sarada Reading Room where the society's work was transacted for two years. Early in 1925, the Secretary met Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu at Pittapur and after much persuasion induced him to be the President of the society—a position which he filled with great distinction for 7 years. At the same time, the Maharajah of Pittapur gave his consent to be the Patron of the society and later on made a donation of Rs. 300 in addition to Rs. 200 which he had already paid for the Raja Raja Sanchika.

The present Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao who has been holding the office continuously for the past nine years may be rightly said to have re-organized the society and infused fresh life and vigour into it. At the Annual meeting held on 30-8-25 in the Arts College Hall the fourth Annual Report—the first *record* to contain the early history of the society with a list of members and a statement of accounts by the treasurer, Mr. A. Sankararao—was adopted and a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. V. Rangachari, B. V. Krishnarao, A. Sankararao, and R. Subbarao as the convener was appointed to revise the existing rules of the society and to submit a report. It was also resolved to register the society under Act XXI of 1860 and the following office-bearers were elected:—

Messrs. J. Ramiah Pantulu	President.
J. Ganganna	Vice President.
R. Subba Rao and	} Joint
B. V. Krishnarao	
A. Sankararao	Treasurer.

V. Rangachari	} Members of the Council.
D. Venkatarao	
C. Narayanarao	
V. Jagannadharao	

The society's books were still in an almyrah in the Sarada Reading Room where the council meetings were held, the Vice President, Mr. J. Ganganna always taking the chair and evincing keen interest. Owing to the untiring efforts of the Secretaries the membership increased from 18 to 51 by August 1925 and to 90 in 1926. The finances also improved.

At a meeting of the General body held on 14-6-26, it was resolved to register the society, to start a Quarterly Journal in English and adopt the draft rules prepared by the Sub Committee with certain changes, one of which was that instead of two Joint Secretaries there should be only a Secretary and an assistant Secretary. In the Managing Council meeting held on 10-3-26, Mr. R. Subbarao was elected as the Secretary and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao as the assistant Secretary. The latter was also elected as the Editor of the Journal and Messrs. J. Ramiah Pantulu, M. R. Kavi and M. S. Sarma as members of the Editorial Council.

In the Annual General Meeting held on 26-3-26, Messrs J. Ramayya Pantulu and V. Rangachari were elected as President and Vice-President respectively, Mr. R. Subba Rao as Secretary and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao as Asst. Secretary and Mr. N. Kameswararao as Treasurer. At the same time the following Editorial Committee was constituted for Kalinga Sanchika.

Mr. R. Subbarao	Editor.
„ C. Narayanarao	} Members of Editorial Council.
„ V. Apparao	
„ B. V. Krishnarao	
„ I. Kanakachalam	

On 2-7-26 Mr. B. V. Krishnarao resigned his Asst. Secretaryship and on 5-9-26 the Vice-President Mr. V. Rangachari resigned owing to his transfer to Madras, and Mr. D. S. Reddi, B. A. (Oxon) was elected in his place on 27-10-26. In the General Body meeting held on 5-9-26 the rule as to Secretary and Assistant Secretary was changed and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was again made a Joint Secretary.

By 5-9-26, the printing of the Quarterly Journal was begun in the Saraswati Power Press under the editorship of Mr. B. V. Krishna rao and published by 26-10-26, the Treasurer advancing a sum of Rs. 140 to the Printer. Messrs. M. R. Kavi, J. Ramayya Pantulu and R. Subbarao were deputed to attend the Fourth All India Oriental Conference at Allahabad in November 1926. The Society resolved to celebrate the Kalinga day at Mukhalingam and requested the Kalinga Sanchika Editorial Committee to interview the Raja Sahib of Parlakimidi

and solicit his patronage. The Raja Sahib was pleased to become a Patron of the Society and thanks to the arrangements made by him the Kalinga day, celebrated at Mukhalingam on the 16th and 18th June 1927 was a complete success. Several scholars attended the function and many valuable papers were read at the Conference, which was presided over by Sir A. P. Patro. Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Garu was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Society received the following donations for the Kalinga Sanchika which was edited by Mr. Subbarao and published in 1931. Sir A. P. Patro Rs. 600. Sri Raja Ramachandra Deo, Raja of Jaipore Rs. 300. Sri Raja Ramachandra Marda Raja Dev, Raja of Kallikota Rs. 300. Sri Raja Rao Swetachalapati Rama Krishna Ranga Rao Bahadur, Raja of Bobbli Rs. 300. Sri Raja Gourachandra Dev, Raja of Chikati Rs. 150. Raja Srinivasa Raja Mani Raja Dev, Raja of Mandasa Rs. 150. Sri Raja K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur Rs. 116. Sri K. Bala-surya Prasadarao of Devadi Rs. 100. Sri Raja U. S. Jogi Jagannadha Raju, Bahadur of Gopalapur Rs. 100. Sri. D. Nandesam Choudari of Kambarigan Rs. 150. Sri Hota Veerabhadrayya Garu Rs. 100. Sri Raja Vikrama Deva Varma Garu Messrs B. Chinnababu Naidu, K. Suryanarayana, Raja Visva Sundararao, N. Kameswararao, J. Seshagirirao, V. Jagannadham Naidu, N. Ramalingayya and Sri L. H. Jagadev Bahadur of Tekkali Rs. 50 each.

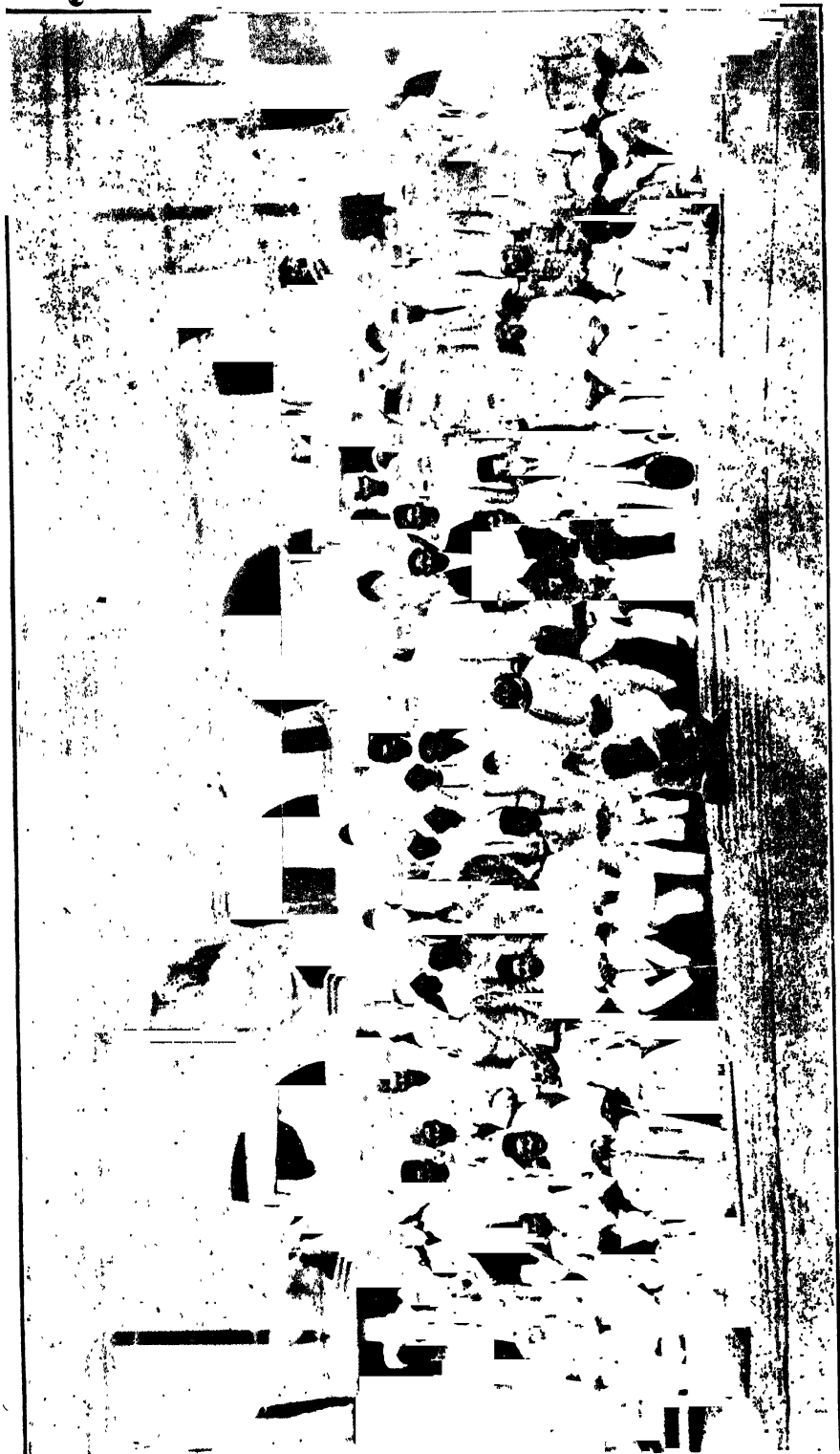
By April 1927 the membership rose from 70 to 150 and the number of Subscribers to 19. The Society published four quarterly parts and exchanged its journals with the publications of 33 Associations. (Indian and Foreign.) The Director of Public Construction, Madras issued proceedings recommending the Journal to all the First grade colleges in the presidency, besides ordering them for the Government institutions under his control.

As Mr. B. V. Krishnarao resigned his Editorship on 27-1-27 the Council elected Mr. C. Atmaram, B. A., B. L., in his place.

The Society continued its activities by holding periodical meetings in which several topics of Historical and Literary importance were discussed. Just about this time the Society received many books and journals through purchase, presentation and exchange and steps were taken to organise a regular Library and Reading Room.

In April 1928 the two Joint Secretaries were replaced by a single Secretary. The membership increased from 150 to 197 and the subscribers from 19 to 25 and the exchanges from 35 to 55—an indication of the widespread appreciation of the Society's activities. This year also showed an increase in the finances of the Society and the total receipts rose from Rs. 1214 to 2316. Further additions were made to the Library





Kakatiya Conference Group.

which was formally opened by Dr. Kalidas Nag M.A., PH.D. of the Calcutta University, on 5-11-27, and located in the Kaky upstairs on the Main Road. The Secretary obtained three sets of new copper-plates and many rare Andhra Coins and presented them to the Society, as the nucleus of the Society's Museum. During the year, at the request of the Andhra University, the Society organised the first series of University lectures named after Sir R. Venkataratnam in the Veeresalingam High School Hall and Dr. Kalidas Nag delivered three lectures on "*Hindu temple Architecture in Indo-China*," "*Hindu Art and Culture in the East Indies*, and *Hindu ritual and ceremonies in the Bali-isles*. The learned Doctor also gave an address on "*Research work in Andhradesa*" under the auspices of the society. Periodical meetings and discussions of several Historical and Literary subjects continued to be a very important feature of the Society's activity.

1928—1929.

There were 193 members, 36 subscribers and 66 Exchanges for the Society. The Journal continued to be edited by Mr. C. Atmaram and elicited favourable opinions from eminent scholars like Sir R. C. Temple, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Dr. Williams Printz, and Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal, F. J. Richards and others.

Work on the Kalinga Sanchika was continued and 400 pages printed. Mr. M. R. Kavi edited the "*Kaumudi Mahotsava*" a rare Sanscrit drama in the Society's Journal as the first of the Andhra Oriental Series published by the Society. The Society deputed Messrs R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao to visit the excavations at Gummididurru and the former made the journey and published a paper on the ruins in Vol. III part I of the Journal. Mr. Subbarao was also deputed by the Andhra University to represent it at the Indian Historical Records Commission at Nagpur in December 1928 and an account thereof appeared in the journal, Vol. III parts 2, 3, 4. Many improvements were also made in the Library and the Reading room. Messrs. S. Narasimharao B.A.(Cantab) L.L.B. Bar-at-law and J. Ramayya Pantulu B.A., B.L. presented many valuable books and journals. Many more books and furniture were acquired from out of the Madras Government grant of Rs. 250. The Director of the Gaekwad's Oriental Institute Baroda was pleased to give all the Sanscrit publications in Exchange for the Society's Journal. Mr. Subbarao also presented one more set of copper-plates and many Andhra coins.

1929—1930.

33 new members were enrolled and the first life member in the Raja of Dharakota was admitted. The number of subscribers and exchanges also increased.

Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was elected as Editor and the printing work of the Society was changed from the Saraswati to the Razan Press. Nearly 300 more pages of the Kalinga Sanchika were printed. Mr. Subba Rao, the Secretary was deputed to the XII Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Gwalior and the Government of India made him a coopted and corresponding member of the Commission.

The Government gave a Library grant of Rs. 100 which was devoted for the purchase of new books and furniture. 25 Gold Coins, were purchased by the Society from Mr. S. Gopalakrishnamurty. The impressions of two copper plates were also added to the Museum.

During the year the finances increased from Rs. 2226 to Rs. 2669

1930—31.

Membership increased from 226 to 242, subscribers from 29 to 40, and Exchanges from 72 to 80. Many Indian Universities, all the Colleges in the Andhra desa and some of the Government Libraries subscribed-for the Society's Journal. Several new copper plates and coins of the Ganga and Chalukyan dynasties were published in the Journal.

The Kalinga Sanchika numbering 830 pages was completed and published and the Society recorded its cordial thanks to all the donors and Sir A. P. Patro and the Raja of Parlakimidi in particular and to the Editor and the Editorial Board as well.

Messrs. R. Subbarao and M. Ramarao were deputed to attend the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian Historical Records Commission at Patna. Thanks to Sir Frank Noyce, the Government of India were pleased to supply the Archaeological Survey Reports, and Memoirs, Epigraphical Reports, and South Indian Inscriptions freely to the Society. The Madras Government gave Rs. 400 and the Municipal Council, Rajahmundry, sanctioned Rs. 100. The Library now contained nearly 600 volumes and 30 volumes of the Indian Antiquary were purchased from the above grants. The Secretary added many Kushan, Gupta and Andhra Coins and fresh impressions of more copper plates to the Museum.

1931—32.

Owing to the general financial depression the number of members fell to 187 but the same number of subscribers continued and the exchanges rose to 92.

Mr. N. Kameswararao B.A., B.L. was elected as the Editor of the Journal. Many valuable papers relating to the Eastern Ganga, Eastern Chalukyan and Vizianagar and the Kakatiya dynasties were contributed to the journal by Messers. R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnarao, K.

Iswara Dutt and M. Ramarao respectively. "*The Revenue Administration of the Northern Sircars*" submitted as a thesis to the London University, by Dr. L. Sundaram M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S. is also being published in the pages of the Journal. Dr. C. Narayanarao and Messrs. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyangar and A. S. Thayagaraju contributed valuable papers on Philology while Messrs. G. Ramadas, L. H. Jagadeb Raja Bahadur and R. Subbarao wrote articles on Epigraphy. Numismatics and Anthropology received Mr. Subbarao's attention.

THE KAKATIYA DAY CELEBRATIONS.

The Managing Council at its meeting held on 8—1—32 decided to celebrate the Kakatiya Day at Warangal in the Nizam's dominions in the month of March and requested Messrs R. Subba Rao and M. Rama Rao to arrange for the same. Mr. M. Ramarao, B.A., (Hons) B.Ed., was elected as Editor of the Kakatiya Sanchika to be published by the Society and Messrs J. Ramiah Pantulu, R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnarao and T. Achyutarao to form the Editorial Board. The actual Celebrations were held on the 25th, 26th and 27th April 1932. Prof. S. Hanumantarao, M. A. (Hons) L.T. Professor Nizam's College, presided. Mr. R. Subbarao opened the Conference. Mr. P. Venkatarama Reddi Desmukh was the chairman of the Reception Committee and Dharmavir Vaman Naik, Jagirdar opened the Historical Exhibition. Many scholars assembled at the Conference and contributed valuable papers. One noteworthy feature of the Conference was the excursions to the Ramappa lake and temples, the Hanumakonda hill and temples and the Fortress of Warrangal. The Society's best thanks are due to H. E. H. The Nizam's Government for permitting the conference, the Archaeological Department for lending many exhibits, the Educational Department for lending the Osmania College hall, and hostel and the local officials for help and co-operation. The Lakshmanaraya Parisodhaka Mandali and the Reddi Boarding House of Hyderabad helped the Society immensely by lending many exhibits.

The number of books in the Library increased from 591 to 700 and the Museum received impressions of three new copper-plate grants and a stone inscription and several Vizayanagar, Kakatiya and Ganga gold coins. Towards the close of the year the Library was shifted from the rented rooms in the Kaki upstairs to the Theosophical Lodge, thanks to the kindness of the President of the Lodge.

Sri Raja K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur was elected Vice-President in place of Mr. V. Jagannadha Rao.

Another new feature of the year was the addition of four *life Patrons* to the Society, viz, the Rajas of Puri, Kallikota, Chempudu and Jeypore.

There was improvement in the finances and the total receipts amounted to Rs. 2752.

1932—33.

There was a decline in the number of members from 189 to 169. But the number of Life Members increased by two. The subscribers increased from 39 to 43 and the Raja of Bobbili became a Life Patron of the Society. 11 more exchanges were admitted and Messrs S. V. Ramacharyulu and K. Appanna Sastry of Hanumakonda were made corresponding members.

The Journal continued to maintain its high level under the Editorship of Mr. N. Kameswarao, B. A., B. L. assisted by an Editorial Committee consisting of Messrs R. Subbarao, B. V. Krishnarao C. Atmaram and M. Ramarao. During the year parts 3 and 4 of Volume 6 and 1, 2 and 3 of Volume VII were published. Messrs. M. GovindaPai, R. Subbarao and M. Ramarao worked on the Pallava, E. Ganga and Kakatiya dynasties and published the results of their researches in the Journal. A table of 52 unpublished Kakatiya inscriptions and the text of one important stone inscription of Beta II were also published in the Journal and an illustrated paper on the recent Archaeological discoveries at Rajahmundry was contributed by Mr. R. Subbarao.

175 pages of the Kakatiya Sanchika have been printed so far. The best thanks of the Society are due to the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal who gave a munificent donation of Rs. 500, Raja Bahadur Kotwal Venkatarama Reddi O. B. E. of Hyderabad who gave a gift of Rs. 200, Dharmavir Vamana Naik Jagirdar and P. Venkatrama Reddi Desmukh, who gave donations of Rs. 100 and 50 respectively.

There was a remarkable improvement in the Library and the Reading Room. The number of Books and Journals increased by over 300. A Catalogue is almost ready and the Librarian Mr. M. Ramarao and the Library Committee consisting of Messrs D. Venkatarao, B. V. Krishnarao, R. Subbarao and B. Sambasivarao deserve the best thanks of the Society.

Mr. R. Subbarao added 8 estampages and Mr. M. Ramarao 4 impressions of new stone inscriptions and the society purchased four gold coins from Mr. S. T. S. Gopalachari for the Museum. The receipts of the Society during the year amounted to Rs. 2728. Though there was a decline in membership, the generous gifts of Patrons enabled the Society to clear off a debt of Rs. 600 and meet the expenses of the year.

To sum up, the Society which was started by four friends to celebrate the centenary of a great Emperor whose name is a household word in Andhra Desa and to produce a Commemoration Volume in Telugu has gradually developed into one of the most useful associations in the country

All the objects of the new organization after its registration in May 1926 are being fulfilled. Twenty seven parts of the Journal are published, three commemoration celebrations were held and two Telugu Commemoration Volumes are published and one is shortly to come out. A free Reading Room and Library is maintained since 1927 in this town and it has received grants from the local Government and Municipality and others. A Museum is being formed and members can see several of the articles acquired in the Historical Exhibition to be opened by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. It is estimated that the Library, Museum articles and Society furniture in all cost about Rs. 10,000. The Society collected about Rs. 25 to 30 thousand Rupees from the Donors, Patrons, Subscribers and Members, and spent as much on its activities during the past decennium. It now aspires to have a building of its own and it behoves the rich and generous people of Andhra Desa to extend their support to this useful Association.

There is no doubt that the moving spirit of this institution is its Honorary Secretary Mr. R. Subbarao who has worked during the last ten years with increasing energy and ardour. He was helped by Messers B. V. Krishnarao, C. Narayanarao, A. Sankararao, J. Ramiah Pantulu D. Venkatarao, N. Kameswararao, M. Ramarao and other Members without whose support the Society would not have reached its present high level.

After the reading and adoption of the Report the Secretary read messages received from the following scholars:—

- 1 Dr. C. Narayanarao (Anantapur),
- 2 B. Seshagirirao (Vizianagaram),
- 3 Prof. T. R. Thakkar (Sangli),
- 4 „ G. S. Sardesi (Poona)
- 5 „ K. Zachariah (Calcutta)
- 6 „ S. Hanumantarao (Hyderabad)
- 7 „ N. K. Bhagavat (Bombay)
- 8 „ A. F. Thyagaraju (Guntur)
- 9 „ D. C. Sarkar (Calcutta)
- 10 „ V. R. R. Dikshitar (Madras)
- 11 „ N. N. Ghoshal (Calcutta)
- 12 „ Pandit Hiralal (Jubbulpur)
- 13 Mr. P. Seetaramayya (Khargpur)

It is interesting to note in particular the following appreciations of the Society's work:—

Anantapur,
12—4—1933.

My Dear Subba Rao Garu,

Let me convey to the Society my warm felicitations on its decennial celebrations. You cannot understand how extremely sorry I am

that I have not been able to be present there physically on this happy occasion owing to causes beyond my control. Be sure, I am there in spirit and visualizing to myself the great future that is in store for our Society. Little did I think that when four of us thought of starting this Society ten years ago, it will grow so steadily and so well. I am proud as President-Founder of the Society, to have left the fortunes of the Society in your able and enthusiastic hands and you, in your turn, have filled my heart with joy by your untiring work. It is also so lucky that you have caught hold of a gentleman in the person of M. R. Ry N. Kameswararao garu, who, though always doubting about the Society's future (I am sure it was only to goad you on) has stood by you like a rock and worked as your right-hand man with single-minded devotion and simple faith. I cannot also withhold my praise in this difficult task of building the Society to all our friends both in and outside Rajahmundry who have stood by the Society in its difficulties and its triumphs. The rise of this institution for once falsifies the self-condemnation of the Andhras that they are not sure builders of institutions.

I pray to God that our Society may grow from strength to strength and avoiding the faults that generally beset all such enterprises rise to yet greater importance in the world of scholarship.

Yours affectionately,
C. NARAYANA RAO

Mayo Hospital
Nagpur
1-4-33.

Dear Mr. Subba Rao,

I received your letter inviting me to contribute something on any aspect of Andhra History on the happy occasion of the Decennial celebrations of your Society. I should have been extremely glad to do it had I anything to write on that subject, but I fear I have none at present.

Permit me, however, to congratulate your Society on its achievements during the past decade and for having won a place of honour among the Historical Societies. The dynastic celebrations in the seats of their prosperity have been a great feature of your Society and must have been a source of great pleasure to those who had the good fortune to attend them. May it prosper and be a source of still greater pride to its founders and members,

Yours Sincerely,
HIRALAL,

Ref. No. 21/33

Date 11-4-33

Sangli, S M.C.

Dear Sir,

Received your kind invitation for the decennial celebration of your Society. I am unable to present myself owing to some unavoidable reasons. I am quite aware of the work done by the society in the field of History of India specially Andhra country. The success of the society lies in the constant and ardent labour of the committee as well as the members and contributors. I hope that the society will have a prosperous future. I appreciate the work from the bottom of my heart and pray to the Almighty to bestow His Heavenly Blessings upon it.

I remain,
Yours Sincerely,
T. R. THAKKAR.

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S. F.R. Hist.S., F.A.S.B. then delivered the following Presidential address:—

Members of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am thoroughly sensible of the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside over the decennial celebrations of your Society. Where so many illustrious and distinguished gentlemen have presided before, I can only flatter myself in the belief that this is honour done not so much to me personally as to the work to which I have devoted practically the whole of a lifetime. Much rather I take it that this is merely recognition by a learned body, like the Andhra Historical Research Society, of the 32 years of work that I have been engaged in in the field of Indian Historical Research. My first publication in this sphere dated some time about May 1900, and I have since been carrying out loyally the wish of a disinterested friend of historical research in India by using my leisure hours when I was otherwise occupied before, and practically all my time, ever since I came into the occupation of the Chair of Indian History and Archaeology at the University of Madras, which I relinquished after fifteen years of tenancy just three years since. This perhaps gives me some claim to occupy the chair this evening; but I do certainly feel that I owe it to the kindness of so many whose personal good feeling to me is so plain.

At this time more than in any other, the importance of Indian historical research can hardly be overestimated. India is on the threshold of a great change in her administration and we are on the eve of the establishment of a Government, which is expected to be more in tune with the wishes and feelings of the great mass of Indians, whose destinies are going to be committed to a Government which we may presume to call our own. With such a magnificent change of character in our Government in prospect, the need for the possession of accurate knowledge of our past in all its multifarious branches becomes not merely a useful accomplishment, but a matter of the first necessity. With a more popular Government, the sphere of Governmental activities is bound to widen, and, as it widens, it requires firm statesmanship and guidance to avoid the shoals and rocks that might bring about disintegration of society, and all the evils that follow in consequence of an unexpected upsetting of the existing social order. While a correct knowledge of the past and the actual lines along which we have developed, at least these three thousand years, should be invaluable knowledge worth acquiring for any enlightened son of India as a merely liberally educated man, it becomes all the more important now, with the changes in prospect, that our knowledge should be as complete and accurate as possible. We may therefore say that the time is come for historical research to enter on its own and make the best contribution that it can, to bring out the much needed improvement in our knowledge of our own selves.

While we may congratulate ourselves upon this position, we ought to realise the great responsibility that it throws upon all those engaged in research. Research work as such calls for qualities which are not of the most common among people. If the dictum *Nāsti sūtyāt parādharmaḥ* is of valid application anywhere, it is of the highest validity here. A votary of research has to set his eye upon discovering the truth and nothing but the truth. The most prominent qualities that the work demands are those of the judge who has to carry a clear head, an open mind and a faculty for penetrating to the truth amidst the conflicting arguments of advocates, swayed each one by the motive to present his client's case in the best manner and the greatest advantage possible. It is not unoften that one comes upon a worker in research who shows himself very much more of the advocate than of the judge. This is a reversal of position that ought to be deprecated. The eager zeal and the enthusiasm to present the case of his client to the best advantage is a commendable function of the advocate. The enthusiasm in a research worker ought rather to be applied to test a hypothesis that he may have formulated on an honest investigation. He may exercise the skill of the advocate, if he has it in abundance, just to find out all that he could

possibly say against his own thesis and in favour of an alternative one, merely to test whether his thesis stands that examination. But his normal training ought to be that of the impartial judge, not of the most skilful advocate, because his function is to penetrate through the skilful arguments of advocates to the truth of the matter, and it is the faculty of sensing the truth through all that may cover it efficiently. That is not the kind of research that is likely to help the honest social reformer, or the disinterested administrator, or the wellwisher devoted to the improvement of the lot of humanity in any capacity whatever. The one and the only object ought to be to find out the truth, and, as far as may be possible for one, nothing less than the whole truth. It need not be imagined I am stating a merely hypothetical case, and putting it as badly exaggerated as I could. Far from it. It is a sober report on the teaching of history issued by the London County Council in 1911 that presents the following extract:— "In France the teacher is told to preach national republicanism, as against monarchy and internationalism. In Prussia, still more definitely, he is told to preach the advantage of monarchy as exemplified by the reigning house of Hohenzollern and the dangers of modern socialism. On the other hand, in Queensland, he is to found history teaching upon the doctrine of the sanctity of state property..... In Hungary, the teaching of loyalty to the Magyar kingdom as distinct from the Austrian Empire pervades the whole system..... In Italy no opportunity is lost of emphasising the great advantage of union, fraternity, freedom and independence..." This quotation may be slightly out of date, and those of us that are readers of current newspapers can make the necessary corrections to this finding in its application to present conditions, and one that sees all that is taking place around him in our own country can find equally important illustration for this perverted application of the genius that one may have for doing research work. One has to be very cautious that he is as thoroughly honest and objective in his work as he can possibly be, and it is only then that he has any chance of really understanding the past and appreciating it in its true perspective; and, without that, the reading of the past would be worse than useless. It would instead of providing us sure guidance, mislead us on the contrary into pernicious courses. The responsibility therefore of workers in the field of research is very great, and nobody needs more the admonition with which we began, *Nasti Satyat Parodharma*, in the conduct of his regular work.

It is commonly recognised that a knowledge of the past is absolutely essential to the understanding of the present and ordered progress for the future. We owe the knowledge that we possess of ourselves so far to the labours of a body of workers who began their labours

under very unpromising conditions just a century and a half since. The optimism of those who laid the foundations of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the mother of all Asiatic Societies, under the administration of the first Governor-General of India, has perhaps been fully realised by the out turn of work during the period of a century and a half which has very nearly elapsed. We are indebted for this start to the labours of disinterested, cultured individuals who began the movement as a private body, though enjoying official support and sympathy. After a little more than a century of work, research work received a new organisation by the direct intervention of Government in the organisation of an Archaeological Department by the Government of India, which has been in existence, doing active work for just about as long as my own self. This very organisation had to be revised and reinvigorated for Southern India by a very recent organisation, which was brought into existence in the eighties of the last century, and this last organisation is fast reaching its golden jubilee of fifty years of active existence. It is as a result of this last organisation that work in regions beyond the *Aryāvārtha* of the Hindus, and in languages other than Sanskritic, received special stimulus and the output for the half century is as creditable to the organisers as to those who have successively laboured to garner as much of the fast disappearing historical material of value as came within their purview. The number of inscriptions, to take but one example, collected since the organisation of the Department of Epigraphy, is very large. What is more than the merely large number, the value of these for the reconstruction of the history of this part of India is something immeasurable. It is not merely the collection of inscriptions, but the study went on simultaneously in other branches as well, such as numismatics nearest akin to epigraphy, archaeology proper, although the work done in this sphere is hardly commensurate to its importance, and what is more, the historical study of the literature of the country which ought really to supply us the flesh and blood in the reconstruction of the history of our own country and culture. While in the field of archaeology, and, to some considerable extent in the field of epigraphy itself, the aid of governmental organisation and even large public support is essential, the other branches of study admit of the work of private agency to a very large extent. It is an organised co-operation of various agencies, governmental, institutional and individual that must ultimately contribute each its own quota to the completion of the picture that has to present to us the birth and growth of the life of India that has brought us to this stage of our growth as a people.

It will be clear from this very brief conspectus that there is much room for single individuals as well as groups of people to apply themselves to particular departments of work, each according to his own

capacity and taste if individuals, and each institution, according to its opportunities where local institutions are concerned, are to make important contributions towards the progress of historical research. The fixing of the date of a piece of composition, its analysis to separate the historical from the un-historical material that it may contain, the collection of the mere details of sidelight that these incidentally and perhaps without intention, throw upon the life of the people are all of them of immense value when viewed in the proper perspective, if not as mere *disjecta membra*. It is here more than in any other field that it is possible for any educated individual to make his own special contribution. The more well-placed may contribute their quota by donations, gifts of money, by presentations of books and by aids of various kinds. It is the less well-to-do that might make his contributions by actual labour in the field, and then in the prosecution of research itself according to his opportunities. The one thing essential in this latter case is that one laboured not exactly to make definite achievements, but it must in the sense of the Gita merely to discharge one's duty by doing what he can, leaving the particular assessment of the contribution to, it may be further-work, or it may be even to other work.

Our past history when it widens out broadly into history, culture and civilization and all that went into the work of building up *the* nation, calls for a vast volume of work in detail before all the details could be analysed, tested, sorted out and are put in their proper perspective. One ought not to be impatient of result, nor be anxious for the credit of achievement. These will come in their turn and in due course. But what is wanted is the doing of the work with honesty and with loyalty, and with nothing more than a single eye to the attainment of truth. Therein lay the great importance of research, and the more loyally the ideal is carried out, the nearer the actual achievement, the humblest contribution leads. In the collection of these details and the working out of these details very large or single organised bodies alone will not suffice. It is there that there is plenty of room for local research, and it is there that associations devoting themselves to the work of a locality, like the Andhra Historical Research Society, have their place. Within very recent times, perhaps during the last score of years or just a little more, we have witnessed a phenomenon of local agencies taking up this work. A stimulus had been given to this by the bringing into existence of new Universities, several of which have now become centres of research, each according to its opportunities and in particular branches of knowledge. There again the oldest of our Universities, the Calcutta University led the way, followed very soon by the Madras, Allahabad, Punjab and other Universities. Let us hope the

newer Universities, among them the Andhra University, will not lag behind their sister institutions in this particular field of work.

Apart from the Universities, local societies for purposes of research have been brought into existence. Among these may be mentioned prominently the Mythic Society, Bangalore, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, the United Provinces Historical Society, now the University Historical Society, and the latest and perhaps in some respects more active than the several others, the Bombay Historical Research Society. Each one of these has contributed its own substantial quota of work, and the prospect before them of making still more valuable contributions in larger quantity lies before them. The Andhra Historical Research Society which came into existence ten years ago, and has had its own share of the ailments of its babyhood, has, during the last six years and more, shown a steadiness and a capacity for work which gives indication of its having survived the afflictions of its babyhood, and exhibits already the vigour of a growing boyhood. The circumstances are favourable for success. Rajahmundry is a place hallowed by memories of a distinguished past going down more than a millennium into the History of India. Till recently it was the literary centre of the Andhra country. It enjoys the support of a landed aristocracy with a large genuine feeling of patriotism for their country, and its literature and civilisation. It has already brought to the fore a small but devoted band of enthusiastic workers. The work that it had so far done during the comparatively short period of its existence gives promise of much more useful work that they could do. They held three important celebrations already, namely, the Raja Raja Narendra Jubilee, naturally, the first and foremost, in Rajahmundry itself. They next celebrated the Kalinga day in Mukhalingam afterwards and last year they celebrated the Kakatiya Day in the former capital of the Kakatiyas, now in the territory of H. E. H. the Nizam. The two volumes the Raja Raja Narendra Sanchika and the Kakatiya Sanchika exhibit a considerable volume of honest work, and I have no doubt that the Kakatiya volume would certainly take rank along with its predecessors, not only in point of quality, but also in point of quantity and its output.

Ladies and gentlemen, notwithstanding the rather discouraging report of the Treasurer that he is threatened with a deficit, let us hope that it will merely cease with being a threat, and will not become an actuality. The possibility is before you for good work and the promise of results is there. The patronage and support that you need, I am sure, will be forthcoming in spite of bad times, and will be forthcoming amply, I am almost certain, the moment that the financial cloud that sits over the world lifts would come. Let me conclude, ladies and gentlemen, with the wish that the Andhra Historical Research Society may have before it a long, prosperous and useful career,

In connection with the Celebrations, the Society got up a Historical Exhibition in the Hall of the Government Training College. The Exhibition was the work of Messrs R. Subba Rao and M. Rama Rao. It was opened by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar and the public appreciated it during the two days it was kept open. A Photo of the Exhibition is printed separately.

LIST OF ARTICLES EXHIBITED.

A. ARCHAEOLOGY.

- 1 A circular grinding stone from Gurindagunta, containing an old Telugu inscription.
- 2 A stone pillar from Nellore bearing a Telugu Chola inscription.
- 3 A broken sculpture from Dendatur, containing the hand of a Vaishnavite deity.
- 4 A Large size brick from the ancient caves of Korukonda.
- 5 Floating bricks from the Ramappa temple.

B. EPIGRAPHY.

- 1—3 A set of three C. Ps. of Devendravarman, the E. Ganga king.
- 4—6 Do of Indravarman.
- 7—11 A set of five C. Ps. of Vijayaditya VII the E. Chalukyan king
- 12—14 A set of three C. Ps. of Vijaditya II.
- 15-16 Impressions of two sets of C. Ps. of Vijayaditya I.
- 17-18 Do of two sets of the Korni plates of Anantavarma Choda Ganga:
- 19 Do of a C. P. of Salankayana Nandivarman.
- 20 Do Do Vishnukundin Madhavavarman.
- 21 Rubbings of the Kazipet inscription of Beta II.
- 22 Do of Prola II.
- 23 Do of Madireddikunta inscription.
- 24 Do of the Ramagiri temple inscription of Vishnu vardhana.
- 25 Do of Kakatiya Ganapatideva in the District Judge's bungalow, Rajahmundry.
- 26 Do of Bhimanapragada minister of Vijayaditya VII, from the Rajahmundry water works.
- 27-30 Do inscriptions from a ruined mantapam in the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

- 1 The Ramireddipalli stupa
- 2 Amaravati

- 3 Sri Kurmam temple
- 4 Simhachalam „
- 5 Mahendragiri „
- 6 Draksharama „
- 7 The Rajahmundry mosque
- 8 Do Museum sculptures
- 9 The Savaras
- 10 The Koyas
- 11 The Chenchus
- 12 The Lambadies

C. COINS.

- 1—4 Gold Coins of the Kakatiya and the Yadavas
- 5—8 Do of Vijayanagar kings
- 9-26 Do of the Eastern Gangas
- 27-37 Andhra lead Coins
- 38-41 Kushan Copper Coins
- 42-46 Mahomadan „
- 47-50 Mogul Silver Coins

MANUSCRIPT.

- 1 Palm leaf Ms. of the History of the Padmanayakas
- 2 Do of Śivayōgasāramu
- 3 Paper Ms. of Pratapacharitramu
- 4 Do of Sambopakhyanam

D. PAINTINGS.

- 1—8 Paintings by the late D. Rama Rao from the Damerla Art Studio.

With this, the morning's programme came to an end.

After a Group Photo of the Members and President was taken a Public meeting was held in the evening in the Government Training College Hall at 5—30 P.M. under the presidency of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar.

After the opening remarks of the President, the following Papers were read:—

- (1) *South Indian Jainism* by Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M.A.
- (2) *The Historical Importance and the Economic aspect of the South Indian Temple.* by K. Iswar Dutt B.A.
- (3) *Satavahanas* by M. Rama Rao M.A., B.Ed.
- (4) *The Antiquities of Rajahmundry* by R. Subba Rao M.A., L.T.
- (5) *The Alluru Inscription* D. C. Sarkar.

The President concluded the Meeting with the following remarks:

Mr. Ramayya Pantulu and Gentlemen,

After listening to the Report of the life of the Society during the last ten years, I think I might with an easy conscience congratulate the Society on the steady progress that it has shown during these years. There is nothing like one uniform progress. The beginnings are small as the source of the Ganges itself as the ultimate progress comes from small beginnings. We are likely to show similar progress in our institution and I congratulate the society with a certain amount of natural pride. The Bangalore Mythic Society owes its origin to myself and Mr. Richards. We desired to select one man to preside over our Society. We found that in a Roman Catholic Bishop. He did very valuable service to the Society till the day of his death. There were some journals written almost by me alone. I wrote to the Yuvaraja to take some interest and he gave a cheque for Rs. 1500 and we could take up the active work of the Society. My work in Madras would not have been possible but for the fact that Madras has some library facilities for this kind of work. What I earned in my services is the same and I am as rich as I was at the beginning some 35 years back. The only earnings that I may boast of as belonging to me is the library I gathered. I had the satisfaction of work which I was able to do as our friend here remarks.

Contemporary prejudices are hardly of any value in history. The causes which led to the French Revolution are all written in one way. That is the value of those histories. It all depends, in each case, upon the knowledge that you have got and what you know of contemporary things and how much sense you must have to pick up what is correct and what is not correct. That is the difficulty with Research work. Gentlemen, judged, therefore, by the life of other Societies of a similar character, the Andhra Historical Research Society has not done badly during its ten years' struggle and on its entrance upon the eleventh year, it has a prosperous career.

The Honorary Secretary then proposed a hearty vote of thanks on behalf of the Society to the President of the Celebrations for having come from Madras and conducted the proceedings to a successful termination, to Mr. Ramayya Pantulu for his presence in spite of his illness, to the Principal of the Government Training College for having allowed the use of the Hall and the furniture, to the several scholars who sent Papers and Messages and the Public for evincing keen interest in the function. With this, the Decennial Celebrations came to a close.

A NOTE ON JAYAVAMMA OF THE KONDAMUDI GRANT.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M. A.

In his recently published work, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (University of Madras, 1932), page 17, the late Mr. Robert Sewell has made the following remarks under A. D. c. 234 :

"Another copper-plate record was found at Koṇḍamūḍi, on the north-bank of the Krishna near its mouth which is reported to be in characters closely resembling those of the Mayidavōlu plates. It purports to have been issued in the tenth regnal year of Jayavarman Mahārāja, who was in his 'camp of Victory' at Gūḍur, near by, at the time. It is not known who this Jayavarman was, but it is just *possible* that it may have been a name adopted by Bappa'. And we have the following foot-note on the last word of the above quotation:

"The word 'Bappa' merely means 'father'. It would not be surprising if on his acquisition of real power this ruler adopted a more high-sounding name."

It is thus evident that the late Mr. Sewell was inclined to identify King Jayavamma (=Jayavarman) of Kondamudi grant with the father (name as yet unknown) of the famous Pallava ruler Śivakhaṁḍavarma (=Śivaskandavarman) of the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali plates. (*Ep. Ind.*, VI. 84 ff; I. 2 ff.) There are, however, at least two reasons for which it is impossible for us to accept Sewell's suggestion.

Firstly, not only in the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali plates, but in all early Pallava epigraphs, Pallava kings are specifically mentioned as belonging to the family of the *Pallavas* (Omgodu grants, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 246 ff. Udayendiram grant, *Ib.*, III, 142 ff; Guntur plates of Cārudevī, *Ib.* VIII, 43 ff; etc. etc.) The term *Pallava* is however conspicuous by its absence in the Kondamudi grant of Jayavarma. (*Ib.* VI, 315.)

Secondly, in the Kondamudi grant king Jayavarma is said to have belonged to the Br̥hatphalāyana *gotra*; all the Pallava epigraphs on the other hand clearly say that the Pallava kings belonged to the *gotra* of Bharadvāja. It is therefore impossible that king Jayavarman of the *Br̥hatphalāyana gotra* mentioned in the Kondamudi grant was the father of the *Pallava* king Sivaskandavarman belonging to the *Bhāradvāja gotra* mentioned in the Mayidavolu and the Hirahadagali grants.

SOURCES OF THE EARLY ANDHRA HISTORY.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M. A.

The history of the early Andhras deserves a monograph, and it is a pity that scanty attention has been paid to this important dynasty which played a glorious part in the history of ancient India for four centuries and a half as an imperial power, sometimes ruling from the Dekhan capital and sometimes from the Māgadha. The view is generally taken that they were a Dravidian people, used to the prākṛit script and did not know much of Sanskrit. It is also believed to a large extent that their political activities were confined to the *Dakṣiṇāpīṭha*, and that the Andhras reigned from the capital in Magadha is a mere theory. It is also contended that the Andhras could not have succeeded the Kaṇvas as the Purāṇas seem to hold but that they were ruling-chieftains contemporaneous with the Sunga and Kaṇva kings, having re-established their independence after the strong hand of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka had been removed. Last but not least is the important question that deals with the religion of the Andhras. Some hold them to be Brahminical Hindus and others Buddhists.^o The late V. A. Smith made an attempt to reconstruct the history of the early Andhras from the materials then available to him (see his *Early History of India*, 4th edition, pp. 217 ff. and also *Z. D. M. G.* 1902, pp. 649 ff; and 1903, pp. 605 ff.) Many are the doubtful and controversial points raised and discussed by the scholar-historian in the course of his examination, especially the political history of the Andhras, who are known also by other names such as Śātavāhanas¹ and Śātakarṇis, in both literature and epigraphy. In this connection, a doubtful point is raised as to the identification of Śālivāhana with whose name is connected the well known *Śālivāhana Era*, according to which dates are calculated even today. It is difficult to say why this ruling dynasty came to be known as Śātavāhanas or Śātakarṇis. A literal translation of these terms throws little light. One of the Purāṇas, the Viṣṇu *mahāpurāṇa*, styles all the thirty kings of the dynasty as Āndhrabhṛtyas, a term which again baffles any enquiry. It is capable of a two-fold interpretation — the servants of Andhras or the Andhras as servants. The appended term *bhṛtyas* is still a mystery for

1. For the form Śālivāhana see Bhāgalapura grant of Nārāyanapāla, See also *C. H. I.* I p. 599 n. 3 *I. H. Q.* 1929. p. 388 *J. R. A. S.* 1929, pp. 273 ff. Aravamuthan - *The Kaveri, the Maikharis* p. 51 n.

students of Andhra history. The early Andhra history can be conveniently divided into different periods (1) from the early times down to the end of the period of Aśoka (2) the epoch of the Sungas and the Kaṇvas (3) the imperial overlordship (4) Andhras and Kshaharatas (5) Andhras and Śakas (6) The last period of early Andhra history.

In this paper, we propose to examine the chief sources of information for this epoch of ancient Indian history, as a preliminary to a full and critical study of the Andhra history proper. The sources of information may be classified under four heads (1) tradition as transmitted in Indian literature—Sanskrit, Tamil and Pāli (2) accounts of foreign travellers in India (3) archaeology and epigraphy (4) numismatics.

Let us take up each of these sources and discuss briefly the material contained in them. Tradition, as preserved in literature, may be history, legend or myth. It is for the historian to get at the kernel of truth lying buried underneath the mythical husk. The earliest known reference to the Andhras is found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* of the Rīgveda school, a composition not later than 500 B.C. This *Brāhmaṇa* text has the following legend. That Rājaṛṣi, who became Brahmarṣi by austerities, Viśvāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of whom were not pleased with the installation of Sunahśepa to the primogeniture. This enraged the sage who cursed them to become progenitors of *mlecchas* and lose their caste. These sons—most of whom—settled in the Dekhan and the far south, were in their turn originators of tribes, some of which attained the status of ruling chieftains. One such tribe was the early Andhras who settled in the ancient Dekhan and built up in course of time a position, equal to any imperial power of ancient India like the Nandas or the Mauryas. The *Mānavadharmasāstra* refers to Andhras as one of the *niṣāda* castes who dwell outside the villages and live by killing animals of the forest (X 36 and 48, S.B.E. XXV). It is difficult to decide whether the Andhra dynasty has anything to do with these tribes.

The next class of Sanskritic works which make a clear reference to the Andhras are Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The *Kāmasūtra* whose date is still a bone of contention refers to the social customs and practices of the Andhras in a number of places and what is more interesting is that it mentions an incident where king Kuntala Śātakarni śātavāhana killed the queen Malayavati with a *Kartari*.²

This legend is generally identified with the king No. 13 of the list, and on this assumption the date of the composition is fixed. There are others who believe that the *Kāmasātra* was a much earlier work and

². For a similar name see the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa* p. 50. Any cutting weapon is a *Kartari*.

that this legend mentioned in a line is an interpolation at the best. Whatever this may be, the fact remains that the *Kāmasūtra* forms an invaluable source of information for a study of the social life of the Andhras of the early Christian era. In the *śabhaparvam* (Ch. 27, 74) of the epic *Mahābhārata* it is said that in the course of his conquest in the south of India, among the tribes which Sahadēva had to encounter were the Andhras. These were subdued along with the Oḍras identified with the modern Uriyas.

This is not all. Among the ancient lawgivers, the Andhradeśa claims the honour of having given birth to Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. They are our early lawgivers of not later than fourth century B. C., whose injunctions are being strictly followed even today. These and other references will justify a re-examination of the theory of the Andhras being a Dravidian people. The Apastamba tradition is of value in showing that the Andhra country had become Aryanised by the fifth century B.C. if not earlier. But the most valuable information is yielded by some of what we may call the historical Purāṇas. Much matter is scattered in the pages of the Vāyu, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Mahāpurāṇas. Of these, the texts in the Brahmāṇḍa have been much tampered with and consequently we have in that Purāṇa, matter which is confusing for purposes of historical investigation. But the texts are best preserved by the older Purāṇas like the Vāyu and the Matsya. While these two Purāṇas speak of these kings collectively as the Andhras, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa alone singles them out as the Andhrabhṛtyas, a term much misunderstood as was already pointed out. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa speaks of thirty kings of the dynasty and assigns to them a period of 156½ years. This is corroborated by the Bhāgavata and the Brahmāṇḍa. The version, as contained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, on the other hand, assigns a period of 300 years and names 21 kings. In spite of their seeming discrepancy of the accounts of both the Vāyu and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas there is a substantial agreement. The period of 156 years is divided among the nine kings out of the total number of thirty kings of the early Andhra dynasty. (For a list of these kings, see Pargiter—*Purāṇa dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 36. V. A. Smith—*Early History of India*, pp. 229 ff. R. Sewell—*Historical Inscriptions of S. India*, pp. 324–5.) The Matsya account brings the historical narrative down to the end of the Andhras who declined as a ruling power about A. D. 236, and furnishes excellent astronomical material to construct a chronological scheme of ancient Indian dynasties commencing with Parikṣit. Here we are furnished with a calculation of 1050 years between Parikṣit and Mahāpadma Nanda, and 836 between the Nandas and the Andhras according to the *Saptarṣi* cycle, the cycle of the Great Bear of 2700 years. It is remarkable to note that this calculation is corroborated by other lines of

evidence. On a doubtful line, *nava varṣāṇi yajñāśri kurute śātakarnīkah* as contained in five MSS copies of the Matsya Purāṇa, Pargiter seemed to find an apparent indication that a compilation of the Purāṇa was begun in the reign of Yajñāśri who is said to be reigning in his ninth or tenth year. (*Ibid Intro.* p. xiii n. 1). This reading has not been adopted by the editor of the Ānandāśrama edition, and we feel that it has been correctly ignored. For, the compilation of this part must have been only after the fall of the Andhras and before the rise of the Guptas to power. The following is the list of names arranged by Pargiter and adopted by others on the subject.

1 Simuka B. C. 220	17 Hāla 69
2 Kṛṣṇa 197	18 Mantalaka (Paṭṭalaka) 74
3 Śrī Śātakarṇi 179 (Sri Malleha)	19 Purīndrasena 79
4 Pūrṇotsaṅga, 169	20 Sundara Śātakarṇi 84
5 Skandhastambhi 151	21 Cakra (Vilivāyikura I
6 Śātakarṇi 151	Vasiṣṭhiputra) 85
7 Lambōdara 111	22 Śivasvāti 85
8 Āpilaka (Divilaka) 93	23 Gautamīputra
9 (Sangha) or Meghasvāti 81	(Vilivāyikura II) 113
10 Svāti 63	24 Puloma (Pulumāyi II) 138
11 Skandasvāti 45	24 (a) Śātakarṇi
12 Mrgendra 38	25 Śivaśri 170
13 Kuntala 35	26 Śivaskanda 177
14 Svāti varṇa 27	27 Yajñāśri 184
15 Pulomāvi (Pulurṇāyi I)	28 Vijaya 213
(Padumān) 26	29 Vedaśri or Candaśri 219
16 Ariṣṭa karna (Nemi kṛiṣṇa) A. D. 44	30 Pulomāvi (Pulumāyi III) 229

Note: Dr. Barnett assigns A. D. 106 to the accession of No. 23, A. D. 131 to No. 24 and A. D. 163 to No. 25 (See *Antiquities of India*, pp. 44—45).

A comparison of the lists drawn up by Pargiter and lately by Sewell shows a small difference. No. 5 of Pargiter's list Skandhastambhi is omitted in the list of Sewell. But one Megha Śātakarṇi is found in Sewell's list (No. 15), thus making up the number to thirty. The 24 (a) of Pargiter's list is only in one manuscript and cannot therefore be taken seriously. From this list one thing emerges, and that is that there were thirty kings of the Andhra dynasty. All the names in the order arranged are not furnished by all the Purāṇas, and it is only a few manuscripts of the Matsya Purāṇa that furnish completely the names of all the thirty. There are a number of variants in the names. Sometimes one king is known by three or four different names, so much so that the historian V. A. Smith ignores certain kings as mere names. Absence of records to corroborate the Purāṇa tradition cannot be seriously advanced as an

argument to show that these kings did not exist, or that the Purāṇa writer simply invented them. It may be that someday we light on some firmer and surer ground by some important archaeological discovery. Thus the primary source of information for this dynasty is the Purāṇa literature, and luckily for us, we have the evidence of epigraphy and numismatics to show that after all most of these names refer to historical persons. In the paucity of reliable data, it will be unhistorical to dub others, whose achievements are not supported by known documents, as mere names. Added to these pieces of literary evidence are the three works attributed to Hāla or Hāleya, the seventeenth king of the Andhra dynasty. There is nothing extraordinary in this fact as we can cite a number of instances of princes who have been reputed scholars also. This undoubtedly is a sufficient indication as to the peace and quiet that prevailed in the period. The inference is that there was no menace of foreign aggression and the home policy was vigorous and popular. Only then the kings could have found time to devote to arts and literature. If Hāla was the author of three good books which evoked the attention of the Kāśmerian Paṇḍits centuries later, who felt called upon to translate them from original Sanskrit, his was a peaceful and otherwise uneventful reign. The first work is entitled *Saptaśataka*,⁴ also *Saptaśati*, an anthology of erotic verses written in the ancient dialect of Mahārāṣṭra. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar opined that Hāla was either the author or to him the work was dedicated (*Early History of the Dekhan*, New Ed. p. 68) The reference to Rādhā in this work is particularly interesting. (see *Ind. Ant.* III, p. 25 n.) Of the other two works one is the *Bṛhat Katha* rendered into Sanskrit by Kṣemendra (1050 A. D.) and Sōmadēva (1120 A. D.), attributed to Guṇāḍhya, a minister of Śātavāhana. The original was in Prākṛit in the so-called Paiśāci dialect. The other is the *Kātantra* grammar which is again attributed to a minister of Śātavāhana, Sarvavarman. The Śātavāhana under reference is Hāla. The peculiarity of this grammatical treatise which is popular in Kāśmir is its relation by its terminology to the Pāli grammar of Kaccāyana *Sam.* Kātyāyana. (See Weber, *History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 226—7 n.) It will be interesting to know how these works had reached the distant Kāśmir, and attained popularity there. Dr. Smith remarks "other traditions also associate literature written in prākṛit with kings of the Andhra dynasty." In their time and territory, Sanskrit apparently was not (*Op. cit.* p. 220) in ordinary use as the language of polite literature." This is not quite justifiable in the light of known data. It has been pointed out that at least five centuries before Hāla's time the

3. For the date of Hāla, see *Bhand. Comm.* Vol. p. 189.

4. *Ep. Ind.* XII p. 320

Āpastamba Dharmasūtra and Śrauta Sūtra had been composed in the Andhradēśa.⁵ Secondly, there is the theory that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmanas. Thirdly even granting that they were Kṣatriyas, they were followers of the orthodox religion in as much as they had performed a number of Vedic sacrifices. This means that the Vedic literature flourished during their epoch. In these circumstances it is reasonable to hold the view that Sanskrit must have been the language of polite literature. Then perhaps the language spoken by the people was Prakrit, and this then explains why the inscriptions of the period, as we shall see, are written in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit. Besides these, Tamil Literature of the Sangam epoch affords demonstrable evidence as to the political and other activities of the Andhras. The Andhras were known as Vaḍugar in the Sangam works and hence the Andhra country was the Vaḍukadēśa. Perhaps the Vaḍugu is a variant of Vaḍagu literally 'north' in Tamil. The Vaḍugar country formed the neighbouring kingdom in the north of the Tamiḷagam. (*Turam*, 378 Aham 213, 295). But in this epoch the term Vaḍugar stood also for Kanarese people. In fact in those days there was not much of a distinction between the Andhras and the Kanarese (Aham 115, 253) cp. Kanakasabhai, *Tamils 1800 years Ago*. p. 29). But it is a fact that by the time of the epoch of the *Śilappadikāram* the Kaṇṇaṭar (Canto XXV 156 and Canto XXVI, 1. 106) are distinctly mentioned and this shows that they were a separate people as distinct from the Vaḍugar who are the Andhras proper. This means that this distinction came to stay by the time of the middle of the second century A.D. The terms Baḍahavāru, Baḍakanāttivāru even now in modern usage are only variants of the ancient Tamil term Vaḍugu. There is an informing stanza in the *Ahanānāru* (253) which mentions by name an Andhra king, Erumaiyan who is referred to as the chief of Kuḍanādu possibly the territory comprising of the modern districts of Bellary and Anantapur (See the excellent paper of Paṇḍit M. Rāghava Aiyangar entitled *Tamilarum and Andhram*.) This is supported by Hirahadagalli copper-plate inscription. (See also *Annals of Bhandarkar Res. Inst.* 1918-1919 p.2: *J.R.A.S.* 1923, pp. 89 f) An interesting stanza in the *Kurāntogai*, another sangam classic, further goes to fix the territorial limits of the Vaḍugar country definitely. The kingdom of Kaṭṭiyar was the neutral zone, as it were, between the Tamil country proper and the country of the Kanarese or the Andhras, representing the northern half of the modern Salem district. (See Gazetteer of Salem District Pt. I p. 69 Pt. II p. 262-9). There are numerous references in the *Tevāram* and other later literature to which we refrain from referring for the reason that our survey is only of the early Andhras whose power fell with the first half of the third century A.D. The terms *tēlugu*

5. P. T. S. *History of the Tamils* p. 324.

and *teluṅgar* came into use after the lapse of considerable time, and the extant Telugu literature can be dated from 10th century A.D. From a stanza attributed to the Śāṅgam poet Māmūlanār (See *Aham* 251) it is seen that in the course of their invasion of the south by the imperial Mauryas the Vaḍugar led the vanguard, skilled in flying through swift arrows, as also the Kośar who enlisted themselves in the imperial forces. (See author's *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 58 ff.) (Again there is a significant expression Nūrruvar-Kaṇṇar in the *Śilapadikāram*, and it is said to be a translation of Śātakarṇis. Here again the Śātakarṇis who aided the Cera king Śeṅguṭṭuvan in his onward march to the Ganges and beyond, can be no other than a member of the early Andhra dynasty (XXVI, 11. 164 ff). From the evident gusto with which the Nūrruvar kaṇṇar are referred to in the Śāṅgam classic, it is safe to surmise that the Śātakarṇi was an imperial monarch ruling from the Māgadhan capital. If it were not so, and if the interpretation is other than what we have taken, then it is difficult to explain the fact that this Śātakarṇi helped Śeṅguṭṭuvan in fording the distant Ganges. This evidence shows that Śātakarṇi had already settled himself in a capital near the Ganges, and need it be told that it was the Māgadhan capital.) Thus the evidence of Tamil literature throws welcome light on the relations between the early Andhras and Tamils, and shows that their relationship was more in the nature of a *mitra* or an ally than of an *ari*, or an enemy. The Buddhist literature has several references to the Andhras and their territory. For instance, the *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E., XVII, 38) refer to a town called Satakannika to the south of the Majjihimadeśa (Madhyadeśa), thus pointing out that the early home of the Andhra dynasty lay somewhere in the northern Dekhan and Central India. The *Serivāṇija Jātaka* (Cowell I p. 12) has a reference to the city of Andhapura to which the Bodhisatta who dealt in pots and pans, came across the river Telavāha and set about hawking his wares round the streets. Possibly this Andhapura stands for the capital of ancient Andhradēśa, and Telavāha is the modern Tel or Teliṅgiri, both flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central provinces (See *Ind. Ant.* 1918, p. 71). In the *Kathāvatthu* (P. T. S. 1915. 104, 108, et seq. J. P. T. S. 1889-90 pp. 57, 78-79 etc) mention is made of Andhaka monks, probably a reference to Andhra Bhikṣus of Buddhism. Again the reference to the relic stūpas of Majerika in early Buddhist tales is the territory possessing the lower valley of the river Kṛṣṇa. (See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India, Cal.* (1924) pp. 612 ff). The Mahāvagga (Trubner, London) speaks of Andhakavinda near Rājagṛha and Andhavana near Śravastī, and if the term Andha stands for Andhra, here are explicit evidences of Andhra expansion as far as the Magadha country. Beyond these doubtful references there is an explicit reference to the Andhra country to which the Bodhisatta as a Brahman went leaving Takṣaśīla

after his Vedic studies, to gain practical experience. (See *Bhīmasēna jātaka*, Cowell p. 203 l) Almost towards the end of the Andhra dynasty flourished Nāgarjuna, a Buddhist monk and philosopher who lived in Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, patronised by Jintaka (śetaka) Śātavāhana (Takakusu, pp. 158—162). It may be noted in passing that he wrote all his works in Sanskrit.

THE EVIDENCE OF CLASSICAL WRITERS.

The Fragments of Megasthenes which are valuable as supplementing the primary authorities of the Mauryan epoch, are also valuable in throwing fresh light on the Andhra power in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya when Megasthenes visited India as an ambassador of Seleukus. According to this authority, and Arrian who closely follows his account, the Andhras were an independent power in the Dekhan. Megasthenes remarks: "Next come the Andhra a still more powerful race, which possesses numerous villages, and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants." (Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, Cal. 1926; pp. 140—41). The evidence of Megasthenes further shows that the Andhras who were originally inhabitants of the territory between the Godāvari and Kṛiṣṇa rivers, had spread their sway towards the north up to the Narmada (vide *Ind. Ant.* V, p. 176). If the Setae of Megasthenes are the Sāta or Sātaka as noted by Pliny, then the Andhra country was famous for its silver and its neighbouring kingdom of the Daradas for its gold. There is a significant statement in Arrian's *Indika* that as many as 118 different nations occupied the Andhra country about 300 B. C. According to Pliny, the Roman encyclopaedist, (*Hist. Nat.* Bk. VI, 21—3) south of the Ganges was the Kalinga kingdom extending to Cape Colington, the northern part of the Godāvari delta. He further mentions Mōdogalingae which Sir Walter Elliot interpreted as *MuduGalingas* or three Kalingas — the Tri-Kalinga to which Ptolemy refers as Trilingon and Triglypton (See *Ind. Ant.* XIII, pp. 381—2; Elliot *Coins of S. India*, p. 11) While on this topic, we can examine the geography of the Greek author Ptolemy who died after A. D. 161. In this highly interesting and valuable work, Ujjain (ozone) is mentioned as the capital of Tiastanes, identified conclusively with Chastana as also Siro Polemaios reigning at Baithana, Ptolemy again mentions a certain Baleokouros, probably Andhra king No. 23, Gautamīputra Śāta. karṇi, as ruling at Hippokoura, which, according to V. A. Smith, may mean Nasik. To me Baleokouros of Ptolemy may be identified with Bālakumāra whose sons Vijaya and Kanaka were defeated and imprisoned by the Cera king Śeṅguttuvan. That Vijaya may be the Andhra king No. 28. If the identification of Vijaya is correct the Balaeokouros must

be the Andhra king No. 27 whose full name according to inscriptions is Rāja Gautamīputra svāmi Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, whose reign extended from Cir. 165 to 195 A. D. Ptolemy again mentions a number of sea-ports belonging to the Andhradēśa. Some of these already noticed by Smith are Senulla (Chaul), Mandagora (? Mandangad to the South of Bānkot, Palaipatmai, Melizeigara (? Jayagad or Janjira) and Buzantion. By the very number the geography of Ptolemy seems to testify to a flourishing state of international trade. (For other details the reader's attention is directed to Warmington's *Commerce* pp. 112-3, 115-6, 288-9 etc). This demonstrates beyond doubt that the heyday of the Andhra empire was in the first half of the second century A. D.

THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY.

While there are a number of monuments which are ascribed to Aśoka, though only a few of them were really erected by him, there are not many which could point to the greatness and glory of the early Andhras. No doubt their successors in the South, the Pallavas, had a good number of monuments to their credit. But we are not concerned in this essay about these monuments as our survey is confined to the history of the early Andhras. The stūpas of Amarāvati can be prominently mentioned as one of the remains of the Andhra architectural activity. (See Burgess *Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta*, Ch. III ff.) Situated at a distance of 18 miles from Guntur and Bezwada, on the bank of the Kṛṣṇa, Amarāvati excels in a rich variety of art displayed in her sculptures, which are truly Indian in style. (See Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 157) Closely on the heels of this ancient city on the western side are the ruins of Dharanikoṭa, the Dhānyakaṭaka which Hiuen-Tsang describes in glowing terms in his Records. From the fact that many coins of the early Andhras were discovered at this place it is inferrable that that was a place of much importance in the days of the Śātavāhanas. Here is an inscription of Pulumāyi Vasistha putra of the Second century A.D. The stūpa constructed in Pre-Andhra days was embellished by the early Andhras and their successors. Besides these wonderful monuments, there are equally striking ones which belong to the epoch of the early Andhras. There is the stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprolu with an inscribed relic casket in Aśokan script and on palaeographical considerations we can assign it to the third century B.C. (*Ep. Ind. II* p. 323). The same considerations weigh with the stūpa of Jaggayyapeta, and the characters of inscriptions being in the later Mauryan script, it can be assigned at least to the second century B.C. (*Burgess, op. cit.* p. 108). To the same period may be assigned the monuments of Guṇṭapalle where there is an inscription in Pāli recording the construction of steps by a nun to a certain monument. (*M.A.R.*, 1888 pp. 11-12; 1916-17, 30-36) Mr. Rea holds that the stūpas of Guḍivāḍa and Ghaṇṭasāla are of the same type as those of

Guntapalle (*South Ind. Bud. Antiquities*: M.A.R, 1892 p. 1 & 2). In these places Śātavāhana coins were found in plenty. Among other important archaeological discoveries may be mentioned a clay seal found at Rāmatīrtham bearing the figure of a caitya and inscribed thus: Śailasaṅgha of Śrī Śiva Vijaya rāja.⁶ Of course this Raja is a Śātavāhana.

Generally adjoining the Buddhist stūpas were erected the Caitya and the vihāra or monasteries. Despite the eloquent testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, Huien Tsang, one is at a loss to find not even a trace of such monasteries near the famous and old stūpas of Bhāṭṭiprolu and Amarāvati. Again among the symbols of the period is found the unfailing Trisūla which is foreign to the Buddhist conception but which is twisted by some as representing the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. There is no warrant to this interpretation to our knowledge in the early Buddhist books. Further in the earliest inscriptions at Bhāṭṭiprolu the terms śiva and vighraha occur. In these circumstances it is difficult to venture a theory of predominating Buddhist style of architecture with an individuality of its own, flourishing in the epoch under our survey. It runs counter to the spirit of the age when the Brahminical Hindus were imperial rulers and steeped themselves in rituals of the *aśvamedha* type as authenticated inscriptional records prove.

The history of the early Andhras would have been poorer and perhaps unintelligible if epigraphy had not come to our aid with such wealth of details. The most important inscriptions of the period are Nānāghat inscriptions which include records of the first and second Andhra kings — Simukha and Kṛṣṇa (edited by Bühler in *Ar. S. W. India* Vols. IV, and V — Lüder's List, *Ep. Ind.* X, No. 1113-18, 1144). Before we proceed to examine these inscriptions as sources of information, it is well to begin with the earliest references to the Andhras in inscriptions. In the Rock Edict III of Aśoka (256 B. C.) the Andhras like the Yonas and Pulindas are included as living in the king's dominions, perhaps conquered by Bindusāra, and their kingdoms added to the Mauryan Empire. But by 171 B. C. the Andhras had regained their independence, as we see from a reference in the Udayagiri or Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla of Kalinga (ed. by K. P. Jayaswal in *J. B. O. R. S.* III, pp. 425-507). The Andhra king alluded to here is Śātakarṇi, possibly No. 3 of the Purāṇic list commemorated by a rather defaced relief image at Nānāghat, a pass leading from the Konkan to the ancient town of Junnār in the Poona district. (See *Early History*, p. 219 n. and *Ar. S. W. I.* Vol. V, p. 59). Khāravēla is said to have challenged Śātakarṇi by despatching an army to the west in the second year of his reign. The Hathigumpha inscription

shows the Andhras to have become an independent power after Aśoka, and establishes the synchronism of the Andhras with the Śuṅgas, and not as successors of the Kaṇvas as the Purāṇas would have it.⁷

For the sake of convenience the inscriptions of the dynasty may be classified as follows:

1. Inscriptions of Nānāghat: These refer to one Śātakarṇi, son of Simuka entering into a matrimonial alliance with the Angira family of Maharāthi. He performed the *asvamēdha* sacrifice. After his death his wife Nāganikā acted as regent during the minority of the princes Vēda śri and Śaktiśri (also Hakuśri). (Bühler, *A. S. W. I. V.*, p. 60). In an inscription relating to a private dedication, the name of Vasiṣṭha putra catarapāṇo Śātakarṇi occurs (*J. B. B. R. A. S. XV*, p. 313).

2. Inscriptions of Nāsik: One of these mentions the name of Kṛṣṇa of the Śātavāhana family. (*Ep. Ind. VIII*, p. 93). Another contains the name of Śaktiśri (*Ibid* p. 91). There is another dated in the 18th year of Gautamīputra Śri Śātakarṇi (*Ibid* p. 71). In continuation of this, there is another inscription of this king with two different dates in the year 24. This records a communication to his master Śyāmaka in Govardhana in the name of the king and his queen mother, (Balaśri). (*Ibid* p. 73). Another inscription of Nāsik refers to Vasiṣṭha-putra (*Ibid* p. 94) Swāmi S'ri Pulumāvi while three more refer to Vasiṣṭhaputra S'ri Pulumāvi. (*Ibid* pp. 59—60, and 65.) There is another inscription which records the donation of a cave to monks in the seventh year of Gautamīputra svāmi S'ri Yajña S'ātakarṇi (*Ibid* p. 94). (For other references see Bühler, *A. S. W. I. Vol. IV*) Lūder's list, 1123, 1141). The Nāsik-prasasti of Gautamīputra shows the king to be a Brahman. The place-names give the clue as to the extent of the empire.

3. Inscriptions of Sānchi (Bhilsa Topes): No. 1 mentions the names of Vasiṣṭhaputra S'ri S'ātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind. II*, p. 88) who is credited with the conquest of E. Malva. Prof. Dubreuil assigns 72—58 B.C. to this king basing his theory on the authority of the Palaeography of the inscription and the style of the sculpture (*O. p. cit.* p. 15).

4. Inscriptions of Kaṇheri: In two inscriptions the name of Māthariputra svāmi-śakasena figures (Bühler, *A. S. W. I.* pp 79 and 82). A fragmentary inscription has a reference to the queen of Vasiṣṭha-putra S'ri Pulumāvi (See *Ind. Ant.* XII, p. 273). Two inscriptions of Kaṇheri again refer to Gautamīputra svāmi S'ri Yajña S'ātakarṇi and one of these is an endowment of a money gift probably to monks (*A. S. W. I. V.*, pp. 79 and 75). Another inscription where the king's name is not mentioned is probably a reference to Hāritiputra Viṣṇukaḍa cutu śātakarṇi, (*Ibid*, p. 86) but not to the reign of Pulumāvi as conjectured.

5. Inscriptions of Kārle: One inscription records an order sent to one minister at Māmāda or Māmala. The names of both the king and minister are missing. But internal evidence attributes it to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 64 and *A.S.W.I.* IV, p. 112). Two other inscriptions with names Vasiṣṭhaputraswāmi Śri pulumāvi and Vasiṣṭha-putra Śri pulumāvi are also extant. (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 61-71: *A.S.W.I.* IV, pp. 107 & 113).

6. Inscriptions of Amarāvati refer to Vasiṣṭha putraswāmi Śri Pulumāvi (*A.S.S.I.* I, p. 100) and to king Śri Śiva mahā śata (*Ibid.*, p. 61). The latter is fragmentary and the name is a variant of Śiva Śri Śātakarṇi. The others are (1) inscription of Cinna (Cina) in the Kistna district referring to the 27th year of Śri Yagña Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra; (2) of Bānavāsi (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 96) issued in the year 12 of Hāritiputra Viṣṇu kaḍa cutu kulānanda śātakarṇi (*Ind. Ant.*, 1885, p. 331); and (3) of Malavalli in the Shimoga district of Mysore celebrating the above king (*Ibid.*, 1896, p. 28). Here is a reference to the Cutu dynasty reigning at Bānavāsi before the Kadambas.

In order to make this study complete so as to enable us to understand the political and foreign relations of the Andhras with the Ksaharatas and Ksatrapas we must examine the inscriptions relating to these dynasties. At Nasika, there are four inscriptions three of which are attributed to Rṣabhadatta (Uṣavadāta), Dakṣamitra (See *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 78, 82, 85 and 81). At Kārle there are two inscriptions, of which one refers to a grant of a village to ascetics and the other attributed to Mitradevanaka (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 56 and 57) recording the gift of a pillar. An inscription at Junnār records gift made by Ayama, mother of Nahapāna, dated in the year 46. These give the indication that while Nahapāna was reigning, Rṣabhadatta was viceroy over S. Gujarat and the northern Konkan and over the Nāsik and Poona districts. (*A.S.W.I.*, IV, p. 103).

Turning to the inscriptions of Western Ksatrapas we have at Jūnagādhī, one of Rudradāman (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 36), and the other of Rudrasimha I (*A.S.W.I.*, II, p. 140). At Gunda there is an inscription of Rudrasimha I (*Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 157). In these inscriptions there is on record a marriage of a Śātakarṇi with a daughter of Rudradāman and the defeat of a Śātakarṇi by Rudradāman. (For details the reader is directed to Luder's list, 965, 994, 1132, 1134, 1174 etc, and also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, 1917 where V. S. Sukthankar has edited an inscription of Śri Pulumāvi. Also the valuable *Introduction* by Rapson in the *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc. especially pp. XLV ff). We can conclude this section with the remark that all the inscriptions of the Andhra dynasty, with the single exception of that executed on behalf of the queen of Pulumāvi which is in Sanskrit, are in prākṛit (See also S. Levi *J.A.*, 1902, p. 16). The age of the script of the Nānāghāt record of Nāyanikā, daughter-in-law of Simuka, the first king of the dynasty, has been a matter

for controversy among scholars. The late Bühler observed that a comparative study of the characters of the Nānākhāt record with the edict of Gautamīputra S'ātakarṇi and his son Pulumāyi shows that at least a hundred years should have elapsed between the period of the two records (*A.S.W.I.*, Vol. V., p. 65). Professor Chanda remarked that the Nānāghāt inscription was much later than the Besnagar record of Bhāgavata, the S'uṅga (*Mem. Ar. S.I.*, No. 1, pp. 14-15). Speaking on the alphabet of the inscriptions at Nānāghāt Professor J. Dubreuil assigned them to the same epoch as that of the Khāravela inscription (*History of the Deccan* p. 13). The same characters are again noticeable in a Nāsik inscription which records the construction of a cave by an official of Kṛṣṇa '(Kaṇha) No. 2 of the list (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 93 A. S. W. I. IV, p. 98) V. A. Smith who has compared the alphabetical characters in the above records with those of Aśoka does not find much difference, and the palaeographical considerations weigh with him to fix the date of Simuka, the founder of the dynasty not far from 200 B. C. (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, p. 655). Considering the differences of opinion to which the evidence of palaeography has led, we cannot rely upon it as positive evidence to fix conclusively the chronological scheme of the Andhras.

THE EVIDENCE OF NUMISMATIC RECORDS.

Let us now proceed to briefly notice the numismatic evidence which helps us conclusively in identifying certain kings of the Andhra dynasty. In this respect the coins of the Andhras call for special notice. These are the earliest die struck coins found in good numbers in the deltas of the Kṛṣṇa and the Godāvāri. "The most common are of lead, rudely executed, more or less coated with white oxide; others are of copper mostly alloyed" resembling the type of Indo-Scythian coins. (Elliot: *Coins of Southern India*, p. 14) The legends are not quite legible but still some of them furnish names which occur in the Purāṇa list of the dynasty. A find of coins in Mahārāshṭra districts of a different type has been discovered, and these are of a coarse alloy. (*Ibid*) The coins are generally round, though some of them are square in shape. Some are struck on one side and some are stamped on both sides with symbolical representations of animals like the lion, horse or elephant together with the name of the king. Some coins have the effigy of a bow and arrow on the obverse and caityas with arches on the reverse. In weight again they vary (*Ibid* pp. 22—23) from 35 grains to 560. The hoard of coins discovered in considerable numbers were presumably of lead and copper and this led to the presumption that the Andhra monetary system did not put gold or silver to use. But a silver coin with the name of Yajña S'ātakarṇi discovered by B. L. Indraji (*B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 273) has falsified this presumption. Coins which bear *caitya* types come under the classification of 'Ujjain symbol.' The *caitya* is

sometimes of three and sometimes of six arches. Coins of this type bear the names of five kings Vasiṣṭhaputra śrī pulumāvi, Vasiṣṭhaputra śiva śrī śātakanni, Vasiṣṭhaputra S'ri Yajña S'ātakarṇi. and S'ri Rudra śātakanni. Coins with the 'ship' type, in one specimen of which Pulumāvi has been made out, have been found along the Coromandel coast between Cuddalore and Madras, attesting to the maritime activity in South India which is corroborated by a large find of Roman coins in the same place (See J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 636). The Bow and Arrow types of coins furnish the evidence of restruck coins. The names of kings in this order are three: Raño Vasiṣṭhi putasa Vilivāyakurasa, Raño Mādhari putasa S'ivalakurasa; Raño Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa. The second king restrikes the coins of the first and the third restrikes the coins of the first and the second. (Rapson: *Coins of the Andhra dynasty*. Intro, p. 1 xxxvii). The terms Vilivāyakura and S'ivalakura seem to be peculiar local titles and it is still an open question whether such titles were conferred on the imperial monarchs or on local chiefs. The oldest known coins of the Andhra dynasty are those with the legend Raño S'iri S'atasa in both lead and potin dating about 150 B. C. There is a lead coin in Brāhmi characters doubtfully attributed to Apilava or Apitaka No. 8 of the list. (Ibid pp. xcii—xciii).

We have to include in this survey the coins struck by kings who went by the name of Western Ksatrapas. Of these the great find of 13250 coins bearing the name of Nahepone^a at Joghalempfi must be prominently mentioned. The condition of the coins bearing effigies of 'extraordinary diversity' indicates that they must have been long in circulation. (See Rev. H. R. Scott's remarks in *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XXII p. 224). Its value to the Andhra historians lies in the fact that as many as 9270 of the above find have been restruck by Gautamiputra, thus attesting to the signal defeat of Kṣatrapas. The coins were of both silver and copper. Like Nahapāna, Castana issued silver coins. On the obverse of these coins the legends were in Greek characters and on the reverse in Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhi. His son Jayadāman struck coins perhaps in copper only, while his son Rudradāman has silver coins to his credit, as also his son Damajadaśri. There is again evidence of Rudrasimha I issuing both silver and potin coins. Rapson remarks: "the degradation of Rudrasimha I to the subordinate position in the year 110 is accompanied by a slight change in the reverse type of his silver coins." (Ibid p. cxxvi). His son Rudrasena issued dated coins in both silver and potin. The potin coinage of this dynasty came to be discontinued by A.D. 236. Thus much historical materials lie buried in the coin legends of the Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas, and needless to say that these form an invaluable source to the early history of the Andhras.

THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE AND THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE.

K. I. DUTT, B.A.

A determination on the part of an impatient idealist to fast unto death on the temple-entry issue of the Harijans, made the South Indian Temple to float recently on the main stream of political events in India. This dramatized a public issue. Mr. Gandhi says why an existence of a temple, if the Harijan is not permitted to worship the God in it? An equally great idealist declares that he does not want divinity enshrined in brick and mortar. Whatever their views may be, the Harijan is in a pitiable plight. His saviours want to insist, first, on the salvation of his soul, while his stomach is starving for want of a morsel of food.

But the Historian and the Economist find in the existence of the temple an immense importance from their own matter of fact views and appraise a new type of value altogether for it. In spite of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, the temple persisted to exist and in a Carlylean expression 'The temple is'.

HISTORICAL VALUE.

In the beginning of History man is not only not conscious of his individuality but has also no idea of God at all. He is conscious only of powers inherent in forces of Nature. Later on, the idea of his own personality grew and with it, he ascribed a personal existence to the forces of Nature and personified them. The conception of God, as civilisation advanced, as Omnipotent and Omniscient and his personification coupled with that conception gave him an abode. The Hindu Religion, its ritual and superstition and Vishnava mysticism, gave that divinity a grandeur and a habitation befitting that grandeur. Thus the temple came into existence. The king in the ancient Hindu Polity was also ascribed a divine origin. He was not only to protect the person and property of man, but also his religion as laid down in Smritis and Srutis. Temple is one of the Saptasantanams, the construction of which perpetuated the name of the benefactor and contributed to his religious salvation. Hence the king and the public constructed the temple.

INSCRIPTION AND TEMPLES.

Various benefactions were made for the maintenance of the temple, and they were mostly in the shape of lands. Then there will be a permanent record of all these benefactions. They were in the shape of documents engraved on pillars, walls and steps of the temple stating clearly the purpose, the nature, of the gift and also giving the genealogy of the donor. whether he is a king or a commander. From these inscriptions only, the History of South India is now written and the South Indian Historian, owes a deep debt of gratitude to the ancient Hindu monarch, to have enabled him to write the

History of South India, from the permanent records thus created and preserved. The South Indian monarch could not have foreseen the vicissitudes of the future social and political history of his subjects, but he unintentionally, placed the Historian under a great obligation. From the inscriptions only we know that the past pulsed with life of varied activities. They present the History of the various dynasties, and portray the social and economic condition of the society and also growth of religious thought: Rightly the Epigraphist said, "One of the several subjects that usually draws our attention in the course of our study, is the ancient South Indian Temple, with its life and polity. It was a powerful social and economic entity, besides being a source of religious inspiration to the people. The temple in the South moreover, appears very much like a modern Registry office, but with greater chances of its records lasting for a longer time than at the present time. This must have been the spirit under which the inscriptions previously engraved were scrupulously reengraved, when the structure is rebuilt, (Para 66 of A.R. for 1921-22). Prof. Seeley in his 'Expansion of England, gave us a short story. Thackeray, the great Novelist, being asked why Queen Anne lived and the English under the Duke of Marlborough fought the French, answers candidly: it was that I might write my delightful novel of Esmond. So, we think, that the constructing temples with the inscriptions engraved on them, was to enable us to write the History of our forefathers.

AN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY OF ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA.

The construction of temples, in those days gone by, was an organized industry. Such an industry on a large scale was a not new thing in the History of the world. The canal system of Babylonia, the pyramids of Egypt, the aquaduct of Roman cities and the mediaeval cathedrals of Europe were achievements in construction, comparable with any but the greatest works of modern times. So was the case with the South Indian temple. It is a wonderful example of a great work, on a large scale, demanding great supply of labour and a combination of engineering knowledge and skill. It is the religion and Superstition of the people, and conception of God as the greatest personality, that engendered such majestic constructional designs, which are a wonder to the modern Engineer and a marvel to the foreign traveller. The problem of so called 'unemployment' which is taxing the brains of modern statesmen was solved, by the South Indian monarch, with greater ease and with better results than at present by the statesmen of the twentieth century.

Thus, we find that the South Indian Temple is a political, social, economic and religious History of south India written with chisel, on stone and brick, well preserved under the grip of lime and mortar and is a great organized relief work, though primarily a religious institution.

HISTORY OF THE GAVARAS.

P. SEETARAMIAH.

The Gavaras are, in the present times, an agricultural caste, mainly inhabiting the Vizagapatam District in the Madras presidency. According to the census of 1901, they number 55,531. As in the case of many other castes in India, it is not possible to fix the ethnographic data of these people, owing to heavy inter-mixture of blood. They do not appear to have been the original inhabitants of the place, but have come from some other parts of India and have colonised there. They have no history of their own. It has not yet been clearly defined by historians to what caste or tribe they belonged originally, what their tribal avocation was, and the date and reason of their migration. The name by which they are at present known does not appear to be one of their caste or tribe, but one given to them by the natives where they colonised. Records, scant though they are, go to show that two different peoples, the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis, migrated from two different but adjacent parts of North-Eastern India, having probably political and social affinities, at almost the same time, and settled and merged together, and eventually formed into a big group. Socially, as they stand now, they rank next to the Vaiśyas (Kōmaṭis).

Mr. Thurston, in Volume II of his *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, states that they are probably Gavara-Kōmaṭis and that they are so called after their patron deity, Gauri. This theory has no foundation, because there are several other castes also, who worship the Goddess Gauri, but are not called Gavaras, or by a name derivable from Gauri.

Another theory is that they are Kauravas. It is difficult to accept this theory, for it is extremely doubtful whether so ancient a race as the Kauravas could retain the name of their race and the traditions of the times, while events of the last one or two centuries could not be related by the people.¹ Instead of entering into the details of these presumptions, which have in reality no foundation, we shall turn our attention to the history of the other parts of India, in order to trace the original home of this caste and how the name Gavara came to be applied to them.

¹ Apart from this, philosophers of Mr. Narain Iyer's school of thought are strongly denouncing the historical aspect of the ancient epics like the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. According to them, some of the persons, places and events of the times related in these works refer only to the body, the soul and the God.

The term Gaura or Gavara must have been derived from Gauḍa, which was also known as Gaura, Gaur and Gōr. It is a well known philological fact that the consonants 'r' and 'ḍ' are very often interchangeable. The Gavaras migrated from this country, and after settling in the south, they came to be known as Gauras or Gavaras or Gavuras, after the name of the country they came from i.e., Gaur. This term (Gaur) took the shape of Gaura, according to the pronunciation in the south, and then Gavura and lastly Gavara. These settlers seem to have originally comprised of several castes and tribes and had names of their own castes and tribes; but their migration gave them, in common, the name of their country, as in the case of the Kalingas, who also derive the name of their caste from the name of their country, Kalinga. In course of time this new name became their permanent appellation and the old ones were neglected. The Jaunpūrias, Tihūtias and the Varēndras and similar other sects are also distinguished by territorial names,² as were given to them respectively by the natives, ignoring the names of the castes to which they originally belonged.

2 If members of a caste leave their original habitat and settle permanently in another part of India, the tendency is for them to be separated from the parent group and to develop into a distinct caste. The stages of the process are readily traced. In the first instance it is assumed that people who go and live in foreign parts must of necessity eat forbidden food, worship alien Gods and enter into relations with strange women. Consequently when they wish to take wives from among their own people, they find that their social status has been lowered and that they have to pay for the privilege of marrying within the parent group. This luxury grows more and more expensive and in course of time the emigrants marry only among themselves and thus become a sub-caste usually distinguished by a territorial name such as Jaunpuria, Tihutia, Barendra and the like. If the process of differentiation is carried a step further (as usually happened before the potent influence of Railways had made itself felt), and the settlers assume a distinctive caste name, all traces of their original affinities disappear and there remains only a dim tradition of their migration. Owing to this loss of identity the number of instances in which we can point with certainty to the formation of caste by migration is comparatively small. (Risley's *People of India* pp. 86-87).

A good illustration of the formation of a caste by migration is that of the Nambudri or Namputiri Brahmins of Malabar, who claim to have come from various sacred localities in Kathiawar and northern Deccan and who are now an entirely separate caste differing from the Brahmans of the other parts of India; (Ibid pp. 88).

Another instance of the same process is furnished from the Rarhi Brahmins of Bengal. The tradition maintains that in the 8th century A.D. Adisur, finding the Brahmins then settled in his dominions too ignorant to perform for him certain Vedic ceremonies, applied to the Raja of Manauj for priests conversant with the sacred ritual of the Aryans. In compliance with his request, there were sent to him five Brahmins of Kanauj, who brought with them their wives, their sacred fire, and their sacrificial implements. It is said of these Brahmin

But there were two kingdoms known by the name of Gaur. One was in Bengal and the other in Assam below the Gāro hills. The history of Gauḍa (Bengal) and its capital Gaur, prior to the rise of the Pālas, is obscure. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the city of Gaur to one Shankal or Shangaldib, (by about 393 B. C.), who came from Koch (Behār), conquered Bang (Bengal) and Bihar and vanquished Kidar Brāhman, a powerful king of Northern India.³ Sir E. A. Gait observes that if this story of the founding of Gaur by an aboriginal tribe of Koch or Gāro affinities could be relied upon, it would suggest the query whether the name of Gaur is not in some way connected with Gāro.⁴ The Gāros are one of the hill tribes of Assam. With regard to the other Gaur, Sir E. A. Gait states:— The tract North of the Kushiāra river was at one time divided into three petty kingdoms—Jaintia, Laura and Gaura* or Sylhet proper. The latter word perhaps survives in the "Goārār Jangal" the name of two old embankments, which run from the Ghogra to a former bed of the Barāk river in the Rājnagar pargana of Cachar. The more western of these embankments is in places a hundred feet broad at the base and ten feet in height, and there is a buried brick wall 140 feet long by six feet broad. There is a tradition that they were erected by some invaders called Goārs.

As we shall see further on, the Gavaras came to the south from Gauḍa (Bengal) and the Kōmaṭis and other tribes from Kāmarūpa (Assam). The migrations took place in different periods and under varied circumstances; and before we discuss in this connection, we shall take a brief note of the political and religious conditions prevalent in the north-eastern India of the period concerned.

The kingdom of Gauḍa prior to the 7th century was under the Gupta kings. Śri Harsha's campaign against Narēndra Gupta of Gauḍa appears to have been the earliest historical event concerning Gauḍa, which he undertook to revenge the murder of his brother at the hands of

immigrants and their progeny that they have married local women, eaten forbidden food, adopted strange customs, and forgotten the endless details of the elaborate ritual which they set forth to teach. In course of time they came to be regarded with suspicion by the Brahmins of their original stock; and they had to pay high for brides from among their own people and eventually they were cut off altogether from the parent group. Thus to all intents and purposes they have become a separate caste retaining the generic name of Brahmin, but forming a new species and presenting a distinctive type. This great change has been brought about by their leaving their original habitat. (Ibid pp. 88-89).

3. Dawson's Elliot's History of India, Vol. 6. pp, 533.

4. Gait's History of Assam. F. N, p. 19.

*This Gaur seems to have been, comparatively, of recent origin.

5. Ibid. pp. 274.

the latter. Śaśānka, the king of Kārnasuvarṇa, was also implicated in this act of assassination. Having gained the friendship of Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, Śrī Harsha could defeat and kill Narēndra Gupta, the king of Gauḍa and conquer Kārnasuvarṇa. Śaśānka, however, managed to save his life by taking shelter in the hilly regions of southern Rāḍha. A short time after, while Śrī Harsha was engaged in the conquest of Northern India and the removal of his capital to Kanauj, Śaśānkadēva collected a vast army from southern Rāḍha, Orissa and Kalinga invaded Pāṭalīputra and annexed Magadha to his kingdom. He was a Śaiva and hated Buddhism. He burnt the holy Bōdhi tree at Gaya and destroyed several other ancient artistic works of the Buddhists. Although Śaśānka conquered the country from Magadha to Kārnasuvarṇa and Kāṇṇga, he could not retain them for a long period; for, Śrī Harsha, with the help of Bhāskaravarman, again marched against him, defeated him and annexed his dominions to his empire. After Śrī Harsha's death in 648 A. D., there arose some trouble over the succession to his empire and we have no clear account of the country of Gauḍa till the beginning of the 8th century A. D. Some historians mention Ādityasēna of the later Gupta dynasty as the ruler of Gauḍa of this period. By about 725 A. D., Śrī Harsha of Bhagadatta's line of Kāmarūpa is said to have ruled Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kāṇṇga, Kōsala and other countries.⁷ He was overthrown and killed by Yaśōvarman of Kanauj by about 750 A. D.⁸ Later we find Kāshmirian king Lalitaditya, the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king, Vatsarāja and the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Dhruva invaded Bengal one after another.⁹ Bengal was anxiously thirsting for a strong and able ruler; and the troubled populace eventually elected Gōpāla, son of Vappaṭa, a military adventurer and grandson of Dayita Vishnu, to the throne of Gauḍa. Gōpāla consolidated his dominions from the Himālayas to the sea, and brought peace and prosperity after the anarchy and misrule of a century and a half.¹⁰ He ruled for a short period, during the last decade of the 8th century; and from his reign Bengal was in a peaceful condition, although exceptions took place now and then. These were occasioned by the domination by the Kambōjas during the end half of the 10th century and by the Kaivartas during the reign of Mahipāla II, but peace was soon restored by Mahipāla I and Rāmapāla respectively.¹¹ Again there arose trouble with the rise of the Sēnas and lastly with the Mohammedan invasion.

6. Smith's *Early History of India*. pp. 850—860. N. N. Vasu's *Social History of Kāmarupa*. pp. 146—153 and *Kalingadeśa Charitram*. pp. 509, 510 and 574.

7. I. A. Vol. IX, pp. 177—181. 8. *Early History of Kāmarupa*, pp. 118.

9. E. I. Vol. IX. pp. 41. and I. A. Vol. XI. pp. 167.

10. *Ancient Indian History and Civilisation*. pp. 366.

11. *Early History of India*, pp. 414—416.

MIGRATIONS FROM GAUDA.

We can attribute several reasons for the migration of a people from one part of India and colonising in another in ancient times. Soldiers, merchant guilds, and groups of pilgrims were constantly moving from their native countries to other parts. It was with great difficulty that they could reach their destinations, owing to insufficient means of communication, dangers and obstacles—natural and physical. Anarchies, foreign invasions and religious movements too sometimes prompted the people to leave their homes. Natural calamities such as famines, floods etc. were also not uncommon. The *Śrāvaṇa* Belgōla epitaph of *Prabhachandra* gives us an instance of an entire *Sangha* or community migrating to the south, as a result of an astrological forecast by *Bhadrabāhu* about a difficult period of 12 years' famine.¹²

Adverting to the subject under discussion, namely the migration of the Gavaras, we might state that almost all the north-eastern half of India was at one time called *Gauḍa* with probably five great divisions and the inhabitants of all of them were broadly spoken of as *Gauḍas*. The following *Ślōka* from the *Skānda Purāṇa* will explain this fact:—

‘*Sārasvatāh Kānyakubjāh-Gaura Mithilōtkalāh,
Pancha Gaura iti khyātāh-Vindhyōttaravāsinah.*’¹³

From this we may naturally conclude that the people of these divisions frequented the other parts and it was probable that men less inclined to undertake hardships and adventures attending a return journey or being tempted to a resourceful business stuck to the foreign land, leaving their own homes and men. The date of the earliest migration, as we shall see presently, may be assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In his *Social History of Kāmarūpa* (pp. 195), Mr. N. N. Vasu states that in the 7th century A. D., when *Śaśāṅkadēva*, the king of *Karṇasuvarṇa*, extended his rule up to the far off *Kalinga* and southern *Kōsala*, many *Kāyasthas* of his country migrated to those places and held high posts there under the state. *Sūrya Ghōsha* of the *Ghōsha* dynasty established his rule in Central India about this time and assumed the title of *Mahārāja*. A stone inscription of his time discovered at *Ratnapura* (*Bilāspur District C.P.*) is now in the *Nāgpur museum*. It is a Buddhist inscription and was recorded to express the grief of the king at the death of his son, due to a fall from the terrace of his palace.¹⁴

12 E. I. Vol. IV pp. 24.

13 We might refer here to the fact that some of the sovereigns of ancient Bengal had the title of *Pancha Gaureswar*. Even petty chieftains used to assume this title in later times, to exhibit a show of power and eminence.

14 J.E.A.S. 1905. pp. 618-619 and E.I. Vol. IV pp. 257.

Rev. M. A. Sherring, in Volume I of his *Hindu Tribes and Castes* (pp. 172-173), gives a lengthy account of the Gaur Rājputs of Northern India. According to him, they seem to have occupied the Etāwah territory from a remote epoch and migrated from Sopor in the west as early as 650 A.D., and took up their head-quarters at Parsu, reclaiming much of the surrounding country. In about 1000 A.D., the Gaur Thakurs were, they assert, in great force in that tract of the country now known as Phapund, Akbarpūr, Oraiyah, Bidhūna, Rasūlabād, and Dēra Mangalpūr Parganas, having their head-quarters at Mahhousi and founding Bāwan Garhis or fifty-two forts.

According to Sir H. Elliot, the strongest clan of the Gaurs is in the Central Doab. They say that they came from Narnal, from which place Nar in Rasūlabād, the residence of a Gaur Rāja, derives its name. The Rājas of Sāket, Kishtawār, Mandi and Keonthal in the Himālayas between Simla and Kāshmir are all Gaur Rājputs. They all state that their families came originally from Bengal¹⁵

The 'Gōr' is one of the thirty-six royal tribes of Rājaputāna, of whom Col. Tod gives the following account :— The Gōr tribe was once respected in Rājasthān, though it never there attained any considerable eminence. The ancient kings of Bengal were of this race and gave their name to their capital, Luknowti. We have every reason to believe that they were possessors of the land afterwards conquered by the Chōhāns, as they are styled in all the old chronicles 'The Gōr of Ajmēr'. Repeated mention is made of them in the wars of Prithwīrāja as leaders of considerable eminence.¹⁶

Of the Gaurs of Ajmēre and Mārwar, tradition maintains that they came originally from Bengal, while performing a pilgrimage to the famous Dwārka shrine, under Rājā Buchrāj and Rājā Bāwn, in the time of Prithwīrāja. The former with his followers settled in Ajmēre, and the latter at Kuchaman in Mārwar. Gradually the tribe gained possession of Junia Deolia and Srīnagar.¹⁷

The Gaurs also exist in the Central Provinces and they also trace their origin to Gauda. They are sub-divided into two clans, namely Gaurs and Chamār Gaurs, but most of them are said to belong to a group known as Gorai, who are considered to be the descendants of widows or kept women in the Gaur clan and marry among themselves.¹⁸

In the United Provinces the Gaurs rank with the good Rājput clans, and there are four sub-divisions of them — the Bhat Gaur, the

15. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes* Vol. I. pp. 173.

16. *Annals and antiquities of Rājasthān*. Vol. I, 1829 pp 101-105.

17. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*. Vol. III, pp. 45.

18. *Castes and Tribes of Central Provinces* Vol. IV, pp. 448-450.

Bhāman Gaur, the Chataār Gaur and the Katheriya Gaur. These are also supposed to take their name from the kingdom of Gauḍa in Bengal.¹⁹

In connection with Ferishta's statement in connection with the conversion of the tribes of Ghilij, of Ghōr and Caubul to Islam, Col. Tod states as follows:— This is a very important admission of Ferishta, concerning the proselytism of all these tribes, and confirms my hypothesis that the Afghans are converted Jadoons or Yadoons, not Yāhudis or Jews. The Gōr is also a well known Rajput tribe and they had only to convert it into Ghōr.²⁰ He again adds (pp. 370.):— The Gōr was a celebrated tribe and amongst the most illustrious of the Chōhān feudatories; a branch until a few years ago held Sooe-Soopoor and about nine lakhs of territory. I have no doubt the Gōr appanage was west of Indus and that this tribe, on conversion, became the Ghōr.²¹

From the facts and traditions, narrated before, we learn that people from Gauḍa were migrating since the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Mr. N. N. Vasu, quoting an extract from a Kula-Pānji of the Uttara-Rāḍhiya Kāyasthas,²² states that some members of the line of Sūrya Ghōsha, referred to in the Ratnapura inscription, gradually spread over many countries and one of them occupied the throne of Chandrahāsa Giri, (modern Chandragiri) in the Malabār coast.²³ After Śaśānka's defeat at the hands of Śri Harsha, the latter seems to have given the former's territories to his friend Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa.²⁴ During the turmoil that followed the deaths of Śri Harsha and Bhāskaravarman, the kingdom of Gauḍa turned, as it were, into a veritable playground of faction, misrule and anarchy; and there was no peace in the country of the Pālas. About this time a large group of people left Gauḍa in quest of a country where they could lead a permanently settled life in the south.

of N. W. P. and Oudh. Vol. II, pp.

399—401.

20. *Annals*

II, 1894. pp. 368.

21. The king and
in Afghanistan. (*History*

Hindus as elsewhere

22. 'Chitraguptanvaya jato
tasyatmajah Suryadhvaḥ Ga-

Suryadeva prasadena Suryakhyana-

tadvamsaja kramensiva nana desantara-

Chandrahāsagirou kechit Chandrahāsagirisya-

Madhyadesadayodhyayam Chandrat Suryadevodbha-

tadvamsajah Sri Soma Ghoshah Sri Karnata Kulakarna-

(Quoted from Panchanan's *Prachina Kulakarika*.)

23. *Social History of Kamarupa* Vol. I pp. 196.

24. *Ibid* pp. 163.

A second migration seems to have taken place in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D. About this period the country had again fallen into the same anarchical state as it was before the accession of Gōpāla I. The Chandēla king Yaśōvarman and the Kāmbhōjas successively occupied the throne of Gauḍa; and the weak king Vighrahapāla II fled to Vikrampur. It was a period of great unrest in Gauḍa. A large group consisting of merchants and people of other occupations seems to have migrated from Gauḍa at this stage and settled probably in the Karpāta country, for we find mention of the word 'Gavare' in two Kanarese inscriptions, discovered at Nēlapalli of the Punganūr Zamindari in the Chittore district.²⁵ The dates of these inscriptions are unfortunately lost. They refer to a certain Mummaḍi Gavareṣeṭṭi of Kōyatūru, a Baḷigāra merchant, and to his younger brother Sundara Chōḷa Dahrmaṣeṭṭi. The ruler Iṛiva Nōlamba Ghaṭēyankakāra Pallavāditya of the Nōlamba Pallava dynasty is said to have conferred the title of Mummaḍi Gavare Pallavāditya Nōlambaṣeṭṭi on this merchant and gave for his perpetual enjoyment as Kadage (gift) the village of Kolatūru in Pulinādu (Chittore District). The king mentioned in these inscriptions is identified by Mr. Rangacharya, as the grandson of Vīramahēndra, who appears to have been a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇa III.²⁶ We might therefore, assign these to the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. They also refer to 'the 48,000 people of the mercantile community'. This figure appears to represent the number of the people, who migrated at this period, and is, therefore, important and worth mentioning here. We have similar instances of collections of people such as 'āruvēla' (of the Telugu Niyōgi Brāhmins) etc. in inscriptions and literary works.²⁷

25. Nos. 242 and 243 of Ep. Report of 1913.

26. Topographical list of inscriptions in the Madras Presidency pp. No. 248.

27. Inscriptions speak of collections of men settled in Dekhan. The Tiruvellarai inscription of Dantivarman family (E.I. Vol. X.) says that the 3700 of that village recorded in it. Other inscriptions refer to numbers. That later members living 3 or 4 centuries ago came and settled in the place, and to the present day, who associated, is a strong impression by the terms, number in the collection etc. In course of years, they at first or did not come to preserve some other collections appear to have their first settlement and to have given up mention persons with these place names, besides giving also the village where they further (K. V. S. Iyer's Historical sketches of ancient Dekhan. pp.

We shall now discuss the point as to when the Gavaras spread into the Telugu country. It appears that communal migrations into the Telugu country were taking place from the 5th century A. D.²⁸ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in his 'Trilōchana Pallava and Karikāla Chōla' (pp. 22-23), has proved that Trilōchana Pallava allowed to settle 108 families of Brāhmins of Benares in his kingdom and granted them 'agrahāras' and it is said that some Śūdra families also were induced to migrate along with the Brāhmins. He has given instances of other migrations from northern India to the south. The Chalukyas and the Chōlas are said to have come from the north. Karikāla Chōla, the contemporary of Trilōchanā Pallava, was an over-lord of Vajra and Magadha; and he also brought a number of Śūdra families from the Gangetic valley, settled them in the 24 districts of Tondai-maṇḍalam, and bestowed on them rich gifts.²⁹ We find mention, in the Vaiśya Purāna, of the Kōmaṭis having migrated into the Telugu country and settled near Penugonḍa in the Godavari district. The Telki Settis, who are styled as Manu-Vaṁśodbhavas in the Manuvaṁśa Purāna and in two inscriptions in the Mallēśvara temple of Bezvādā, state that they were originally Kshatriyas but by a curse of a sage, they had to take up the profession of oil-monging. They are further said to have belonged to Hēmapura or Kanakapura, Gajapura, and Ayōdhya.³⁰ Thus they were also immigrants into the Telugu country. There are traditions of a few other communities also, having migrated into the Telugu country and settled therein.

The date of the migration of the people from Gauḍa to the Telugu country cannot be fixed definitely. It is probable that there were a number of migrations during the periods of anarchy and invasions prevailing in their countries as stated before. There are evidences also to show that people from Bengal were settling in the Telugu and Kalinga countries, probably during Sasanka's rule in Southern Kōsala and Kongōḍa in the first half of the 7th century A. D. and also in subsequent periods.

The Cheedivalasa copper-plate inscriptions of the Kalinga king Dēvēndravarma V, son of Bhūpēndravarma, dated in the Gāngēya Era 397 or 391 A. D. are a grant made to Āditya Bhaṭṭa, Yaju Bhaṭṭa, Śeṇḍidēvara Bhaṭṭa and others who were Vanga or Bengal Brāhmins. The inscriptions record the grant of Siviḍi in the Kandaliṇvāḍa village in Kōlūvartani Vishaya (Ganjam district).³¹ We may infer from these that

28 The writer is highly grateful to Mr. M. Ramarao, B.A., (Hons.) B.Ed., for help in this connection.

29. K. V. S. Aiyar's Historical Sketches of ancient Dekhan pp. 130 and 131.

30. S.I.I. Vol. IV Ins. Nos. 774 and 796 pp. 254 and 268.

31. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. 2 pp. 150 and 152.

people from Bengal, including Brāhmans, were settling in the Kalinga Deśa before the 9th century A.D.

The Māikapuram stone-pillar inscription of the Kākatīya queen Rudrāmba makes mention of the Chōlas, the Draviḍas and the Gauḍas. It is stated therein that Visvēśvara Śiva, the spiritual Guru of Ganapati and the founder of the 'agrahāra' known as Visvēśvara Gōḷaki, was a native of Pūrvagrāma in the Gauḍa-Rāḍha country.³² It is also stated that he had with him some Brāhmans who were well versed in Sāma Vēda and who were the natives of the village, Pūrvagrāma, in southern Rāḍha (of Gauḍa), to recite the Sāma Vēda (Gauḍa-dakṣhiṇa Rāḍhīya Pūrvagrama samudbhavāh Śrī Vatsa Gōtra subrāhmaṇāh Sāma Vēdinah).³³ He is further stated to have pleased and fulfilled the desires of several kings, the Chōlas of the four Varṇas, the Draviḍas of several Gōtras as well as the Gauḍas (Gauḍāh pūrṇa manōrathāh), and all of them are said to have been his disciples. It is, thus, evident that, besides the earlier migrations of people from Gauḍa referred to before, a group of them spread into the Telugu country in the 13th century also, probably during the Muhammadan invasion of Bengal in 1202 A.D.

THE ORIGINAL OCCUPATION OR CASTE OF THE GAVARAS.

It is practically impossible to trace out the caste or tribe to which the Gavaras owe their origin. During the vicissitudes that followed their emigration and colonisation in the South, they completely lost sight of their caste, or their original occupation. There are several reasons for this. At the time of their migration, the Gavaras had amongst themselves, as may be naturally supposed, people of several castes and classes high and low. After they peacefully settled down in life in their new homes, natural necessities soon presented themselves. As generally the females form a minority in a home in such circumstances, the immigrants probably had less number of the fairer sex amongst them and this was a great draw-back for them as a distinct group in a foreign land. The natives could not so early get familiarised with these foreigners, and as not unnatural, looked upon them with a feeling of contempt or fear, and were not, probably, willing to enter into social relations with them. The result was that they had to contract matrimonial relations amongst themselves in the same social order. But, handful as they were in number, they could not hold fast to this principle for a long time. It was then considered expedient to relax the rigidity of caste and to introduce inter-caste marriages.

32. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. IV Parts 3 and 4 pp. 152.

33. Ibid. Lines 62 and 63 of the second side of the inscription.

Inter-caste marriage was, it appears, followed by another social reform, namely widow re-marriage, as the problem of the minority of females could not yet be solved. The females were allowed to marry as many as seven times in the event their husbands died. Due to the prevalence of this practice amongst them, their caste is known as 'ēḍu manuvula jāti', which means a caste in which marriage for seven times is allowed. The females of this caste, even to this day, wear silver bangles, on which there are seven distinct lines. Tradition also points to the fact that these indicate that the females are allowed to marry seven times successively. Though widow-marriage is not forbidden, this practice is obsolete now. The custom of 'mēnarikam', i. e. marrying sister's, or maternal uncle's daughter, seems to have been adopted in later times, in imitation of the other castes in the south. The result of these social reforms was that, within a short space of time, caste and pedigree were forgotten and the whole people formed into one distinct group.

According to the Telugu dictionary — Śabdārdha Chandrika of Mr. Mahākālī Subbā Rao, the word Gaura or Gavura means a trader, the geographical significance of which we have already traced. The Gavaras appear to have been connected with the Kōmaṭis some time back, for there are several family names amongst them, ending with the term — Śeṭṭi, i. e., modern Sēṭh, a Bania or merchant; and this indicates that at least a section of them were merchants. The traditions of both the castes agree, in the main, with each other. Gavara Kōmaṭi is one of the sects of the Kōmaṭis at present. We have found that the Mummadi Gavaraśeṭṭi of the Nēlapalli inscriptions belonged to the mercantile community. He was evidently a man of considerable wealth and influence; and all the immigrants, including the Kōmaṭis, came under his influence, accepted his leadership and adopted trade and commerce as their main occupation. Another Gavara merchant, by name, Gavara Muddama-Śeṭṭi Ganga-Malli-Śeṭṭi of Rājamahēndravaramu figures prominently in two inscriptions on two images in the eastern courtyard of the Mallikārjuna Temple at Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District.³⁴ One of them states that the image of Bhairava was set up by him and the other states that the image of Bhṛingīnātha was also set up by him. The latter states that he was the son of Gavara-Muddama-Śeṭṭi Malli-Śeṭṭi. The name of this Ganga-Malli Śeṭṭi of Rājamahēndravaramu also occurs in an inscription on the 'bali-pīṭa' in the northern court-yard of the same temple.³⁵ It would thus appear that he was also a wealthy merchant. Probably the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis combined into one group and had a monopoly.

34. Nos. 28 & 29 of the Ep. Report of 1915.

35. No. 87 of Ep. Report of 1915.

of trade in the Āndhra and Karnāṭa countries for some centuries after their settlement in these countries. The two words 'Gavara' and Kōmaṭi', therefore, became synonymous terms, meaning a merchant. But some time after, the two groups separated owing, probably, to some dispute. The wealthier people amongst them were traders and the rest were probably agriculturists; and later on they served in armies too.

But the immigrants or a section of them do not appear to have continued in the occupation of trading for any length of time. After some time they betook themselves to other callings. Owing to the paucity of historical evidence bearing on the subject, we shall take up some other source e. g., 'Gōtras, in order that we may get a clue to the original caste of these people. The Gōtras are, generally, traceable to place-names and names of ancestors and are a good source of information.

The Gavaras have, at present, three Gōtras, viz; Paidipāla Dhānyapāla, and Nāgapālī (evidently derived from Nāgapāla). The first embraces a vast majority of them while the other two are claimed by the Pentakōṭa and Bhīṣeṭṭi families. The suffix 'Pāla' in these Gōtras suggests some connection, near or remote, with the Pāla kings of Gauḍa. The Vaiśya and the Manuvarṃśa Purānas mention several Gōtras, ending with the term 'Pāla'. The Manuvarṃśa Purāna mentions the 'Madanapāla Gōtra'. Madanapāla was a king of Gauḍa and it is possible that some of his descendants left their country in times of trouble and settled in the south. Of the three Gōtras of the Gavaras, 'Paidipāla' is the most prominent. The Manuvarṃśa Purāna and the Vaiśya Purāna mention the Kanakapāla and the Paiḍikula Gōtras, which are evidently variant forms of 'Paidipāla'. According to the Velugōṭivāri Varṃśāvaḷi (a manuscript in the Govt. Oriental Mss: Library, Madras. Book No. 15-5-32. pp.145), Paidipāla is one of the family names of the members of the Velugōṭi family.³⁶ It appears that this Paiḍipāla was an eminent personality, and gained prominence amongst these castes, which were allied to one another, when conditions of caste were not so rigid as at present. Another point to be considered is that the 'Paidipāla', mentioned in the Chronicle of the Velugōṭi family, is a surname, but it is a Gōtra amongst the Gavaras. It seems likely that Paidipāla, Dhānyapāla, and Nāgapāla were born in

36 स्वस्ति समस्त पैडिपालवंशोद्भव सुवर्ननक्षक । इवेत चत्र लांघन । चनुसु
नायंकंरंगडु येरुव राजु राज्य स्थापनाचार्य घडियंक्रमल्ल अर्धि जन चिंतामणि वोड्डियदेबुनि
सरं नळ विभाळ । स्वामि कारा दुरंधर स्वामि कौर वंघनि तलगुंडु गंडु परमन्य भयंक
देव ब्राह्मण श्रीपाद पद्माराधकुलैः पैडिपाल नायंकुला स्वयविरुदु विजयप्रशस्ति विजैभवा.

(पं. शास्त्राचार्य विरुदु.)

the south and were named with the title 'Pāla', in imitation of their ancestors, the 'Pālas of Gauḍa'.³⁷ Of them, Paiḍipāla rose to eminence and was, somehow, allied to the Velugōṭi family. When the country was conquered by the Mohammedans, the petty ruling chiefs and their followers who could not gain possession of the country took themselves to agriculture, as is the case with the Reḍḍis, the Velamas and the Kammas etc. today. At the time of separation from the parent group, the Gavaras had this Paiḍipāla as their surname, but as families multiplied, they adopted the modern surnames among their respective families and Paiḍipāla as their Gōtra. A few families, who did not retain or forgot their own Gōtras, adopted 'Paiḍipāla as their Gōtra, in view of his being their leader in the past. This probably accounts for the fact that the majority of the Gavaras claim to belong to this Gōtra.

It would, thus, appear that the Gavaras comprised mostly of merchants and Kāyasthas. For, the families in Bengal who have the surnames of Pāl, Sēn, and Sūr are at present considered to be Kāyasthas. The Pāla kings of Gauḍa were Buddhists, and the inference, naturally, is that the Gavaras were also Buddhists who recognised no caste distinctions at least to the extent that Manu and other law-givers did. This was another reason why they have been able to introduce liberal social reforms and thus meet the growing needs of society.

Another curious fact is that the principal crop of cultivation of the Gavaras, at present, is that of sugar-cane. From this also we may conclude that they had some connection with Bengal, which, according to some antiquarians, originally denoted the land of sugar-cane. In the Amara-Kōśa, one of the names mentioned to mean sugar-cane is 'qundrah' (Rasāla ikshus tad bēdhah pundrah kāntarakādayah.) The ancient Bhukti, Paundravardhana (Bengal), therefore, derived its name from 'pundrah'. Anakāpalli Taluk in the Vizagapatam district, which is now the central abode of these people, is noted for its sugar-cane cultivation and manufacture of a good quality of jaggery.

Before closing this topic we shall refer to a jocular saying 'Seema-Nēpaḷam', by which the Gavaras are addressed by other castes on occasions of joking. It is curious why they are so addressed and why some of them resent. 'Seemanēpaḷam, as we understand at present, is the

37. It is also possible that the ancestors of the Gavaras might have been junior members of the families of the Pala kings of Gauda or petty ruling chiefs subordinate to the Pala kings. The surname 'Pala' was, in those days, adopted by several ruling chiefs in Bengal and its dependencies, as it was then considered to be more respectable.

name of a medicinal plant, and the joke would have no significance if the term refers to a plant. It must, therefore, indicate something derogatory-rather than meaning a mere herb, as otherwise the term would not have given pleasure or pain to the speaker or to the people spoken to respectively; and a meaningless saying could not have spread amongst the people and survived for such a long time.³⁸ The meaning of this term can easily be interpreted if we would turn our attention towards Gauda.

In our opinion, Nēpāl had something to do with these people. Some of the Pāla kings of Gauḍa, notably Dharma Pāla and Dēva Pāla, are credited with very wide conquests. Dēvapāla is said to have ruled over India, Ceylon and other islands, the Kāmbōjas of the north-west Himālayas, the Huns, and a part of Tibet also.³⁹ When the immigrants from Gauḍa were questioned by the natives of the south, as to the location of their country, the former must have been mentioning, among others, Nēpāl as the northern-most boundary of their kingdom. The Gavaras went from the eastern India, and the natives of the south wanted only to know the western and northern boundaries; and as the natives were probably conversant with the kingdoms of the west of India, they had only to take note of the northern boundary. As usual the Gavaras maintained a fair standard of exaggeration in describing events as others of their times, and mentioned Nēpāl as the northern boundary of their kingdom, bearing in mind the territories acquired by some of the Pāla kings, although few or none of these territories were left undisturbed by the invaders, during the period they left their mother-land. Ever since that time, the term Seema (boundary)- Nēpālam (Nēpāl) came to be applied to them. This, as was done in the past, is at present being used with an element of contempt and ridicule, as is natural in the case of all foreigners, and hence the people have cause to resent.

THE KŌMAṬIS.

The Kōmaṭis are a trading caste of the Āndhra Dēsa. They do not appear to be the original inhabitants of the country, but like the

³⁸ Proverbs have peculiar meanings and they express a truth rooted in experience, but the experience is that of a particular people or of a particular country, and the sayings in which it is summed up are coloured by the spirit of the time when they were coined and of the nation which produced them. No one, indeed, can fail to be struck by the intensely popular character of Indian proverbial philosophy and by its freedom from the note of pedantry which is so conspicuous in Indian literature. These quaint sayings have dropped fresh from the lips of the Indian rustic and convey a vivid impression of the anxieties, the troubles, the annoyances and the humours of his daily life. Sir H. H. Risley's *People of India*. pp 125-126

³⁹ Mazumdar's *Hindu History* pp 695 & 700

Gavaras, have come to this part of India from a distant country by migration and settled permanently. Although migrations involved great hardships and lowered the status of the migrating people, the unsettled condition of the country that usually followed religious and political disturbances left no other alternative for the more scrupulous and peace loving section of the people, than to leave their mother-land and to settle in a foreign country. As a natural effect, the Komatis also lost the name, the customs and manners of their own caste and acquired the name of their native country with which they used to be associated by the local people.

The Kōmaṭis are vegetarians⁴⁰ and unlike the Gavaras, wear the Yagnōpavītam or the sacred thread like the Brāhmins. They trace their origin to the Vaiśyas of the Āryan period. The latter, however, were not only traders but also agriculturists and cattle-herds. Of late, it has been the practice of several castes in India to link up the origin of their castes to some mythical hero of the Purānas and thus claim an Āryan origin. We have occasional references in the Purānas themselves, of inter-marriages between the Āryan and the non-Āryan people; and later, as history would tell us, during the Buddhist period, this inter-mingling of blood was carried on a larger scale. And Āryan, non-Āryan and other races freely mixed with one another in this country. Persian, Greek, Scythian, Yue-chi, Hun, Mongol and other foreign races came to India, horde after horde, settled and mixed up with the Indians and were absorbed into the all-embracing Hinduism. It is on account of this great inter-mixture of races that the modern ethnographers fail to trace out the exact origin of most of the castes and tribes of India today. While the other trading communities in India are styled as Baniya or Vanija, Bapik, Vaṇik, Sēṭh or Mahājan, one fails to understand why the merchants of the Telugu country alone should be known as Kōmaṭis, when there are several general terms for them. The Telugu dictionaries mention the terms Bachchu, Bēri and Kōmaṭi as referring to the Vaiśyas, which afford no clue to their origin. The term Kōmaṭi is the only name applied generally to the merchants in the Telugu country at present.

• One of the theories advanced is that the term Kōmaṭi is derived from Gōmati, which refers to the traditional cow-herding of the Vaiśyas. This is hardly probable, for, the Vaiśyas have long since given up their traditional occupations of cattle-herding and agriculture; and the same

⁴⁰ It appears that some time after the Komatis settled in the south, they seem to have embraced Jainism; and this most probably accounts for their having given up meat diet. The Karinga Komatis, however, are not vegetarians in the present times.

have been taken up by other castes. Some state that it is a variant of the Sanskrit word Ku-mati or baseminded, referring to the exacting practices of the members of this caste as money-lenders and village grocers. Gōmaṭha is, according to the Ślōka quoted below from the Kanyaka Purāṇa, one of the names of the Vaiśyas :—

‘Arya Ūruja Vaśyaścha—Gōmaṭhō dvija ēvacha,
ētanāmāni Vaiśyānām—Samjnitānicha paurushāt’.

Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantam Gupta states that the word Gōmaṭha referred to in the above Ślōka is identical with Gōmaṭhi or one belonging to Gōmaṭha, a Jain monastery founded by Chandra-Gupta Maurya near Srāvaṇa Belgōla in the Mysore state alluded to in the previous chapter and that the term Kōmaṭi is derived from Gō-maṭhi. This view does not seem to be probable, as no reason can be found why the merchants alone should have been known by that name, and others left over; we shall discuss further this point later on.

There are several sects amongst the Kōmaṭis such as Yajna-Kōmaṭi, Gavara-Kōmaṭi, Kaṅginga Kōmaṭi, Arava-Kōmaṭi, Nēti-Kōmaṭi, Vidura-Kōmaṭi, Rāipāk-Kōmaṭi etc. Of these, the first two seem to be the most ancient, and the rest formed at some later periods. The names of these sects indicate that those of the original stock of the Kōmaṭis that migrated and settled in different parts of Southern India and elsewhere acquired the name of the country they settled in. The Nēti-Kōmaṭis are said to have separated from the main stock, owing to a dispute in connection with the serving of ghee at a feast, and the Vidura-Kōmaṭis are said to have originated from the illegitimate offspring amongst the Kōmaṭis. As we are now mostly concerned with the Gavara-Kōmaṭis, we shall turn our attention to that part of India to which we have traced the history of the Gavaras, viz; Gauḍa.

The Kōmaṭis seem to have migrated from Kāmatā Maṇḍala, which was one of the divisions of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa. Both Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa were neighbouring kingdoms and at times one was a dependency of the other. Under these circumstances there was every possibility of the people from one country going to the other.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF KĀMATĀ

The history of Kāmatā, as a political seat, begins from about the middle of the 10th century; and prior to that period, it was a ‘maṇḍala’ or division within the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. According to Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, the name Kāmatā or Kāmtā may have been derived from Kāmadā, Kāntā, or Kāma which were the various names of

the deity Kāmākshya as stated in the Kālikā Purāṇa.⁴¹ We have no reliable account of Kāmatā till the rise of the Ghōsha dynasty in the 10th century A. D., during which period it developed into a small principality. Kāmatāpūr or the town of Kāmatā lay on the eastern bank of the Dhārīa river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch-Behār and joins the Brahmaputra.⁴² The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Cōmotāh' or 'Cōmotāy' in the maps of De Barros and Blaeu.⁴³ Dr. Francis Buchanan, who made a survey of eastern India, visited the ruins of Kāmatāpūr, estimated its circumference at nineteen miles. The palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stood in the centre.⁴⁴ The details of the ruins of Kāmatāpūr are described in Buchanan's Eastern India (edited by Montgomery Martin), Vol. III. (pp. 426—438). The Mohammadan historians, in Riyaz-us-salatin and Ain-i-Akbārī, sometimes speak as if the terms Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā were synonymous and applicable to one and the same country, but on other occasions as two distinct countries.⁴⁵ Cunningham tried to identify the capital of Kāmarūpa, which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang visited, with Kāmatīpura or Kāmatāpūr.⁴⁶ But his identification of Paundravardhana with Pābna or Pubna does not seem to be correct. According to some scholars Paundravardhana is identical with Panḍua 215 miles from Calcutta in Eastern Bengal, while others identify it with Mahāsthān Garh 226 miles from Calcutta in Eastern Bengal. Inscriptions so far discovered do not mention the names of Kāmatā and Kāmatāpūr.

In his Social History of Kāmarūpa, Mr. N. N. Vasu has given an English translation of a copper-plate grant of Īśvara Ghōsha of the Ghōsha dynasty, which gives a short account of Dhūrta Ghōsha (Cir. 950—975). During the period, when Koch-Behār was under the feudatory chiefs of the Dāsa dynasty and North Bengal under the Kāmbōja rulers, who had forcibly taken this part of the country from the Pāla kings, Dhūrta Ghōsha made himself master of Dhekkāri, a small principality corresponding to the eastern part of Koch-Behār modern Goālpāra and part of Kāmarūpa.⁴⁷ The grant goes on to say that Bāla Ghōsha, son of Dhūrta Ghōsha was a great military genius and was the boast of his

41. Early History of Kāmarupa, pp. 242—3.

42. H. Blochmann's Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal pp. 32.

43. Ibid. Plate IV.

44. Ibid. pp. 31 and 32.

45. Gait's History of Assam, pp. 42—43.

46. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India edited by S. N. Majumdar. pp. 572—574.

47. Social History of Kāmarupa Vol. I, pp. 199—201.

caste people. His son Dhavala Ghōsha, also known as Dhavala Rāya or Dhal Ray according to the *Dharma-maṅgaḷas*⁴⁸ of Rāḍha, was a powerful ruler of the kingdom of Dhekkāri under the suzerainty of the king of Gauḍa. He is said to have had his capital at a place called Kāmtā-Gaḍa or fort of Kāmtā. As he stopped payment of tribute to his suzerain, the latter is stated to have sent his general, Lausēna, or Lava-sēna to subdue him; and a terrible battle took place at Kāmtā-Gaḍa and Dhal Ray was defeated and captured. He afterwards paid tribute for 21 years and gave his daughter in marriage to Lausēna.⁴⁹

Mr. Vasu has assigned Dhavala Ghōsa to the period 1000-1026 A. D.,⁵⁰ and states that Kāmtā-Gaḍa was founded by Dhūrta Ghōsha or his son Bāla Ghōsha. He further said that, according to the *Dharma-maṅgaḷas*, the king of Gauḍa referred to here has been called the son of Dharmapāla; and that this Dharmapāla of the *Dharma-maṅgaḷa* has been elsewhere described as the king of Daṇḍabhukti, who was defeated and killed by Rājendra Chōla. The king of Gauḍa is identified by Mr. Vasu as Mahīpāla I (Cir. 975—1025 A. D.).⁵¹ We can, therefore, assume that the fort of Kāmtā was founded some time in the 10th century A. D., and before this Kāmatā was, as stated before, a division in the kingdom of Kāmarūpa.

MIGRATIONS FROM KĀMARŪPA AND KĀMATĀ.

We have stated before that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa ruled over the territories of Śaśānka till about 650 A. D. After the death of the latter, Śri Harsha seems to have given the sovereignty of Uḍra and Kongōda countries to his friend Bhāskaravarman. It was probably about this period that a migration of people from Kāmarūpa took place. The *Dharmalingeśvara C. P. Grant* of the Kālinga king Anantavarman mentions the name of a certain Vishṇu Sōmachārya of Parāśaragōtra, a native of Sripṅgāṭikāgrahāra, in the district of Kāmarūpa (Assam).⁵² This inscription is dated in the Gāṅgēya Era 204 or 698 A. D. From this it would appear the people from Kāmarūpa were settling in Kālingadēśa since the 7th century A. D.

Śri Harisha alias Śri Harshavarman Dēva of the Bhagadatta's line of Kāmarūpa, who flourished in the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D., is

48. The *Dharma-maṅgaḷas* are books dealing with the worship and spread of Dharma on earth, and contain stories concerning ethics.

49. *Social History of Kamarupa* pp. 206—207.

50. *Ibid.* pp. 228.

51. *Ibid.* pp. 210.

52. ... *Kamarupa Vishaye Sringatikagraharam vastavebhya Parasara gotrebho Vishnu Somacharya padebhyo* J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, page 274.

said to have been the lord of Gauḍa, Uḍra, Kaṭṭinga and Kōsala etc. (Gauḍōḍrādi-Kaṭṭinga-Kōsalapati).⁵³ Although this is a largely exaggerated statement, there is no doubt that he was a powerful ruler, and had under his sway some outlying portion of the Kaṭṭinga country; and it is possible that some people settled in Kaṭṭingadēśa, having gone there on mercantile, state and other business, about this period also.

Mr. N. N. Vasu, quoting from a book 'Karaṇa-Varṇana', states that Harihara, one of the descendants of KīrtiNāga a feudatory chief under Ādisūr, went to the kingdom of Kuvacha or Koch (Behār) and acquired eminence in the service of the state. Heruka and Vāsuki Nāgas were his sons. Both of them conquered the land of Kōṭi. Vāsuki settled in Kaṭṭinga, while Heruka ruled at Bāṇakōṭa (Pargana of Deokot in the modern district of Dinajpur). This place came to be called Nāgakōṭa on account of the ascendancy of the Nāgas.⁵⁴

It has been narrated before that Dhūrta Ghōsha of the Ghōsha dynasty acquired the territory of Dhekkāri during the anarchical state of the country of Gauḍa, owing to the intrusion of the Kāmbōjas during the 2nd half of the 10th century. This dynasty seems to have belonged to Raḍha in Bengal. Most likely some people of Kāmatā settled in Gauḍa during his reign. About this period, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa seems to have been in an anarchical state. In the chronology of the kings of Kāmarūpa, there is a gap of about 100 years after Balavarman III (Cir. 875—890.); the names of the kings are also not yet discovered. For a better understanding of the subject, we quote below the relevant portion of the Bargaon copper-plate inscription of Ratnapāla Dēva (1000—1030).⁵⁵ :—

'After thus, for several generations, kings of Naraka's dynasty had ruled the whole country, a great chief of the Mlēcchhas, owing to a turn of (adverse) fate, took possession of the kingdom. (This was) Sālastamba. In succession to him also there were chiefs, altogether twice ten (i. e., twenty) in number, who are well known as Vighrahastamba and the rest. Seeing that the twenty-first of them, the illustrious chief Tyāga Sinha by name, had departed to heaven without (leaving) any of his race to succeed him, his subjects, thinking it well that a Bhauma (i. e., one of Naraka's race) should be appointed as their lord, choose Brahmāpāla, from among his kindred, to be their king on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country.'

From this it is clear that there had been nineteen kings between Sālastamba and Tyāga Sinha; but according to the latest researches,

53. I. A. Vol. IX pp. 171.181.

54. Social History of Kamarupa. Vol. I. pp. 184

55. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXVII. 1898, pp. 99.

there had only been eleven kings between Sālastamba and Tyāga Sinha, and twenty-four kings between Pushyavarman, the first king of the Varman dynasty and Tyāga Sinha. It would therefore, appear that the number of kings given in Ratnapāla's inscription is not correct; and the inconsistency has, rightly, been explained by Mr. N. N. Vasu, when he states that 'during the rule of the Varma dynasty, the Sinha dynasty had been reigning elsewhere in a subordinate capacity, and that Tyāga Sinha of this line was the twenty-first of his (Sinha) dynasty, and that he made himself master of Prāgjōtisha after the death of Balavarman III.⁵⁶'

During this period, the country was ruled over by weaklings; and some of the people of Kāmata, probably, settled in Gauḍa, some time in the 10th century, from where they migrated to the south along with the Gavaras, under the leadership of Mummaḍi Gavaraśeṭṭi, as already stated. The term 'Kōmaṭi' might have been derived from Kāmātā, which was also known as Kōmotā. The vowel 'a' is often pronounced as 'o' in these parts of India. De Barros and Blaev have recorded the name Kāmātā as 'Cōmotāh or Cōmotāy', according to popular pronunciation. The kings of Kāmātā bore the title 'Kōmotē śvara'. The 't' in the word 'Kamata' is dental, but it is cerebral in 'Kōmaṭi'. This change in the pronunciation, probably, took place in the south: and Kōmotā changed into Kōmoṭā, as in the case of some of the words, e. g., Śukti (Sanskrit) Śuttru (Tamil) Śuttu (Canarese) is pronounced in Telugu as Chuṭṭu (meaning round, as a ring, a coil, a round about way), Gīta (line) Gītu, Bhakta (devotee) Bhaṭṭa etc. The adjectival form of Kōmoṭā is Kōmoṭi as for instance, illu (house) inṭi, nuduru (forehead) nuduṭi, vākili (a door-way) vākiṭi etc. Kōmaṭi had, thus, been derived from Kōmoṭa and signifies its people, just as Mārwaḍis, Mahrāṭhis, Bengālees and others are called after their respective countries. In course of time, the term 'Kōmoṭi' came to be pronounced as Kōmaṭi, and in the early stages, used as an adjective, probably along with the pronoun 'vāḍu' (singular) or vāru' or 'vāṇḍu' (plural), which, however, seem to have been soon dropped the word 'Kōmaṭi' came into general use i. e., one belonging to Kōmoṭa or Kāmātā. These people came to be known as 'Gavara-kōmaṭi' owing to the fact of their having migrated to Gauḍa or Gaur from their native country Kāmātā or Kōmotā. The rest of the Kōmaṭis, who happened to migrate to Kaṭṇṇa and other countries came to be known as Kaṭṇṇa-Kōmaṭis etc.

The Kōmaṭis seem to have spread into the Āṇḍhra Dēśa in the beginning of the 11th century, for, we find the term 'Kōmaṭi' mentioned

in an inscription of Śaka year 990 or 1068 A. D., discovered in the Drākshārāma Bhīmēśvara temple (Godavari district).⁵⁷ This inscription states that Pāpaya, a son of Kamma Kōmaṭi Mēḍiasṣeṭṭi made an endowment of 50 bull's, promising to supply ghee for a light which he offered to God Bhīmēśvara, during the victorious reign of king Vishnuvardhana.

THE ORIGINAL CASTE OR OCCUPATION OF THE KŌMAṬIS.

It is difficult to definitely trace the caste to which the Kōmaṭis originally belonged. It is probable that they comprised several castes and tribes, like the Gavaras. We find strange terms in the Vaiśya and the Kanyakā Purānas. A śloka from the Kanyakā Purāna has been quoted before, from which we find that Gōmaṭha is one of the terms, by which the Vaiśyas are known. We shall discuss the subject.

According to Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, the capital of Kāmarūpa was shifted from Gauhati to Kāmatāpūr in the 1st half of the 13th century, which was found necessary owing to the extension of the power of the Kacharis, who by this time advanced towards the west up to the boundary of the modern district of Kāmṛp, which was then the western boundary of the kingdom of Kāmatā. The Ahōms, from whom Assam derived its name, entered Assam from the north-east, and firmly established themselves under their leader Sukāphā by about 1253 A.D. Sukhāngpha, the great grand-son of Sukāphā, pushed so far to the west as to come into conflict with the Rāja of Kāmatā (1233-1332 A.D.). On the north bank of the Brahmaputra, the country seems to have been ruled by a line of Chutia kings and also by some Bhuyans,* who were ultimately subdued by the Ahōms. ⁵⁸

The Chutias and later the Khen kings ruled the kingdom of Kāmatā for a period of about 250 years, ending with Nīlāmbor during whose reign Kāmatā was invaded by Hussein Shah, the Sultan of Gaur and Kāmatāpūr sacked in 1498 A. D.⁵⁹ The Bhūyāns came into power after this event, and occupying small tracts, continued to rule the country independently of one another. But they used to combine into a confederacy under one leader, whenever a common enemy such as a Muslim invader appeared. The leader of such a confederacy was known as Gāmathā, the Kāmarūpi equivalent of the Persian word 'Gōmastā' meaning an agent.⁶⁰ According to the Gāmathā Vamśāval, these Bhūyāns

57. S.I.I. Vol. IV Ins. Nos. 1012 pp. 331.

* The word 'Bhuyan' means the 'lord of the land'.

58. Early History of Kamarupa pp. 242-243.

59. Gait's History of Assam pp. 43.

60. Early History of Kamarupa. pp. 277-278.

were originally in Kanauj, but migrated to Gaur, when the Muslims occupied their country and began to kill cows and Brahmins. The Muslims followed them there too and committed atrocities on the Hindus. The Bhūyāns then removed themselves to Kāmatā and settled therein. They all combined here and successfully resisted the Muslims. They elected a Śirōmaṇi Bhūyān among themselves and followed his lead in war. The Bhūyāns were, as has been stated above, petty rulers, but the Gāmathā was the chief of all.⁶¹ Most of these Bhūyāns are said to have been Kāyasthas by caste. When the Muslims were trying to establish their rule in Rāḍha and Varēndra (in Bengal), the local Buddhistic population had a good fight with the Muslims, who defeated the petty chiefs amongst the former. The Buddhist Śramans, therefore, fled to Nepal, Mithila, Eastern Bengal and Kaṭinga. About this period, the Rāḍha and Varēndra Brahmins were being patronised by the Muslim rulers. The Muslims and the Brahmins disliked the Buddhists and managed to drive them away completely from the country.⁶² The Muhammadan historian, Minhajuddin also states that a migration of the people of Bengal took place, during the invasion of that country by Mahammad, son of Bukhtiyar, when a considerable number of Brahmins and other Hindus fled into Kamrūd (Kāmarūpa), Bang (Bengal), and Sankanat (Jagannath or Orissa).⁶³ About this period, some Gāmathās who settled in Gaur probably migrated to Kaṭingadēśa; and the Gōmatha referred to in the Kanyakā Purāṇa is probably the same as the Gāmathā mentioned before.

Another name by which the Vaiśyas (the Kōmaṭis) are known is Nagara. The temple of Nagarēśvara was constructed by and named after them. Rao Bahadur T. Bhagavantham Gupta states that they were so called due to the fact that they live in Nagaras or cities; but people of other castes also live in cities and there is no reason why they should also not be known as Nagaras. We are of opinion that the Nagaras originally seem to have been called as Nagas; and that the term 'Naga' seems to have been changed into Nagara as in the case of words such as Śāstri Śāstriār, Dēva Dēvār, Swāmi Swāmiār etc. The Nāgas are one of the tribes of Assam, on whose origin Sir E. A. Gait observes as follows; 'The people whom we call Nāgas are known to the Assamese as Naga, they belong to a diversity of tribes, each speaking its own language and calling itself by a distinctive name. The collective designation by which they are known to the Assamees seems to be derived, as suggested by

61. N. N. Vasu's Social History of Kamarupa. Vol. II. pp. 8.

62. N. N. Vasu's Banger Jatiya Itihasa. Rajanya Kanda pp. 360.

63. Tabaquat-i-Nasiri. Vol. I, pp. 557.

Holcombe and Peal, from 'nok'[†] which means 'folk' in some of the tribal dialects.⁶⁴ The Nagas also appear to have migrated from Kāmarūpa; and the change of the term 'Naga' into 'Nagara' took place after they settled in southern India.

It is curious to find the Kakatis in the history of Assam. The Kākatīyas were a famous dynasty, who ruled the Āndhradēśa for about four centuries, from their capitals Hanumakonda and Warangal in the Nizam's dominions (Hyderabad). Sir E. A. Gait, while mentioning some of the designations of the state officials of the Ahōm kings, states that the Kākatis were the writers of the Ahōm kings.⁶⁵ As this is an important subject requiring careful consideration, we shall defer further discussion on this point for a later occasion. For our present purpose, it is enough to say that the Kākatis of Assam are considered to be Kayasthas.

It would, thus, appear that the Kōmaṭis also originally comprised several castes and tribes like the Gavaras; but by the influence of Mummaḍi Gavaraśeṭṭi, they adopted trade as their main occupation. Some of them seem to have later on risen to the position of Rashṭrakūṭas, Raṭṭas or Reḍḍis, and appear to have been somehow connected with the foundation of the Konḍaviḍu kingdom of the Reḍḍi rulers, as several of these rulers had the appellation 'Kōmaṭi', viz; Kōmaṭi Prōla, Kōmaṭindra Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma, Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi, Śrīgiri Kōmaṭi Reḍḍi etc. The term Reddi, was, in those days, applied to rulers and petty chiefs, and not indicating the name of a caste as at present. Mr. C. Virabhadra Rao has discredited the tradition relating to the foundation of the kingdom by the help of a Kōmaṭi, but there is some truth in the story.

It is not known when the Kōmaṭis separated from the Gavaras; and the circumstances under which the various sects amongst them were formed. According to a tradition of the Kaṭṭinga Kōmaṭis, it appears that the sect was formed in the 18th century. Prior to this period, the members of this sect and those of the Gavara Kōmaṭi were a single group, as some of the family names of the Gavara Kōmaṭis are current among the Kaṭṭinga-Kōmaṭis also. Their tradition maintains that a dispute occurred between them and the Gavara-Kōmaṭis in 1794 A. D., near the shrine of Padmanābha, as a result of which they separated from the Gavara-Kōmaṭis; and visiting the hill or shrine of Padmanābha is, still, a taboo amongst them.⁶⁶

[†] 'Nok' is, apparently, a degenerate provincial pronunciation of 'lok', which means 'folk'. The consonants 'n' and 'l' are inter-changeable.

64. Gait's History of Assam pp. 313-314.

65 Gait's History of Assam pp 238-239.

66. Kalingadesa Charitramu pp. 28.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing lines are an attempt at bringing out a brief account of the Gavaras and the Kōmaṭis, within the domain of historical literature. In doing this, a few epigraphical, literary and other sources have been consulted and referred to in these pages. There was a series of migrations of a people from north-eastern India to southern India, but the fact has rarely been touched upon or discussed by scholars of Indian history at any great length.

We have mentioned several instances in which the people from Gauḍa migrated to and settled in various parts of India, from the beginning of the 7th century till the 13th century A. D. The Nēlapalli inscriptions enable us to fix, at best, a probable date of one of these migrations. Another instance of migration is proved by the Malkapuram stone-pillar inscription. A few stray evidences such as the Cheeḍivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarma have also been given. The facts that the immigrants had to face critical problems and that they had to adopt peculiar social customs have been admitted at certain points; and it has been observed that the Gavaras had amongst them wealthy merchants and Kāyasthas.

With regard to the Kōmaṭis, we have, unfortunately no epigraphical evidence in support of our view. But it should be remembered that the history of Kāmatā, as a seat of central government commences only from the 13th century A. D., when the capital was shifted from Gauhati to Kāmatāpura. In fact, the inscriptions relating to the history of Kāmarūpa itself are very limited in number. Nevertheless, a few stray evidences have been given, from which we find that people from Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā were settling in Southern India from the 7th century A. D. The Cheeḍivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarma mention the name of a village Kandaliivāḍa, which seems to have been founded by a family of Kandalis. We might, incidentally, state that these Kandalis belonged originally to Kamarupa, for, we find the names of a few celebrated poets of this family who flourished in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries in the courts of the kings of Kāmatā and Kāmarūpa; and the works of Mādhava Kandali, Rudra Kandali, Śrīdhara Kandali, and Ananta Kandali are still extant in Assam. The existence of the Kākatis, who were writers in the past, is also curious, and raises important issues with regard to the origin of the Kākatiyas of Telingāna. We may, thus, conclude that there occurred a few migrations from Kāmarūpa and Kāmatā also; and these require further research and it is hoped that this aspect of our history will receive the attention of scholars and a more detailed and exact account of these people will sooner or later be brought into existence.

AN INSCRIPTION OF SURYA VARMAN OF THE ASWAPATI FAMILY

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA.

When I was looking into the pages of the Hindi Journal "*Saraswati*" Vol. 17 part I, I came across an article heading **सूर्यवर्मा का शिलालेख** The word **सूर्यवर्मा** being familiar to me, it struck me that this inscription might be helpful in indentifying king **सूर्यवर्मा** father-in-law of king Harsha Gupta of Mahākōsola. **सूर्यवर्मा** a king of the Magadha **वर्मा** line finds a mention in the Lakshman temple inscription (now in the Raipur Museum) found at Sirpur (old Sripur) on the Mahānadi. **सूर्यवर्मा**'s daughter by name **वासटा** was married to Harsh Gupta, whose son was Mahā Shiva Gupta otherwise known as **बालार्जुन**. During the reign of her son, Mahā Shiva Gupta, queen *Vāsaṭā* got a beautiful temple constructed in memory of her worthy husband and to this temple the inscription was affixed. The characters of the Sripur inscription closely resemble those of the inscription belonging to Sūryavarma a fac-simile of which is published in the '*Saraswati*'. The original inscription of **सूर्यवर्मा** is deposited in the Lucknow museum. It was discovered in a village in the Harāhā Taluq of Bārābanki District, in Oudh. It is in Sanskrit Verse which number 23. The **प्रशस्तिकारः कवि** was one **रविकान्ति**. It was engraved by Mihir Varman. It is dated in the Vikram era 611 or 554 A. D. This date is of special interest to us for the fact that it will enable us to fix the dates of Harsha Gupta and his son Mahā Śiva Gupta with certainty.

With a view to introduce king **सूर्यवर्मा** a short summary of the inscription in question is needed. The inscription begins with **स्तुति** to God Śiva, which covers the first two Slokas. The third sloka runs as follows:—

मुतशतं लेभे नृपोऽश्वपतिर्वैवस्वताद्यद्गुणोदितम्

तत्प्रसूतादुरितवृत्तिरुधो मुखराः क्षितीशः क्षतारयः॥

From Asvapati sprang the **मुखर** or **मौखरी** dynasty. The geneology begins with **हरिवर्मा** who assumed the title of **ज्वालामुख**. His son was

आदित्यवर्मा famous for performing यज्ञः (slokas 8, 9, 10). He had as his son ईशानवर्मा (sloka 11 to 16) who conquered the Andhra king possessing 1000 war elephants and the *Mulikās* who had 10000 horses. He defeated the *Gaudas* living on the Sea-coast. He had a very great army. He was a very pious and religious man. The son of this powerful king was सूर्यवर्मा.

One day when this prince सूर्यवर्मा was out on a hunting excursion, he came across a delapidated old temple of Śiva of very fine make. Under his orders the old temple was repaired and reconstructed and the stone inscription was set up there to commemorate the 'glorious deed' of the pious prince. The repairing of the temple was done in the Vikram year 611 when king Ishāna Vermah, after vanquishing his enemies was reigning. One thing of great historical importance, which this inscription lays before us, is about the origin of the मुखर kings. It was unknown to us where the मुखर kings originated. Our present inscription is explicit on this point. The originator of this family was Asvapati the worthy father of the adorable सावित्री of *Paurāṇic* fame, whose sacred name is a household word in every Hindu home. We learn from the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, that सावित्री owing to her unflinching devotion to her husband सत्यवान not only succeeded in undoing the death of her husband but also was successful in securing the grant of a boon for the bestowal of one hundred sons upon his father together with the restoration of his lost eye-sight. Let me quote here a passage from the 'Mahābhārat'

Savitri said (to Yama):—

"O bestower of honour, as you have not condescended to grant me my other desire without my good fortune acquired by my holy and pious deeds, so in this case also I see you are ready to grant me my desire; hence my desire is that Satyavana may be alive again as I am almost dead without my husband. Without him I do not desire to be happy, I do not wish to go to heaven. I do not want to enjoy wealth and riches, not even do I care to live without my husband. Just consider, you have already granted that I may give birth to a hundred sons, yet you are taking away my husband; So my prayer is that Satyavana may get his life back by which alone your words may be proved true."

Markandeya said.—Then, *Yama*, the son of the Sun, being much pleased with her said, "Be it so", and setting Satyavāna free, again said to *Savitri*. "O auspicious one! see, I release your husband. O daughter of a respectable family you are at liberty to take him along with you, he will be free from diseases and be always successful in his attempts. x x x x your father too will beget hundred sons in your

mother *Mālavi* and your god-like brothers with their sons and grandsons will become famous by the name of *Mālavāsī*¹.

Father of *Savitri* was the ruler of a country called *मद्र* (*mādra*) *Satyavana's* father *Dyumat-ēna* was the king of *Śalva* (शात्व).

In the country of *Madra*, there was a noble, pious, continent and skilful king named *अश्वपति* (*Aśwapati*). From this king *अश्वपति* who was the ruler of *Madra*, the *Mukhars* (मुखारः) trace their descent. The geneology of *Sūry Varmā* is as follows:—

In the family of king *अश्वपति*² there was born king
हरिवर्मा whose son was
आदित्यवर्मा his son was
ईश्वरवर्मा father of
इशानवर्मा whose son was
सूर्यवर्मा of our inscription.

These *Varmā* kings occupied the major portion of *Mālavā* and the *Asīragarh* (Dist. Nimar C. P) seal lends support to this theory. The seal belongs to *Śarva Varman*, son of *Īśāna Varman* whose father was *Adityavarman*, the son of *Mahārāja Harivarman*.

The *Mukhar* dynasty, it appears had many branches and they were simultaneously ruling over *मगध*, *कान्यकुब्ज*, and *माळव*. *Īśāna Varma* one of the powerful *Mukhar* Rulers had conquered the Lord of *Āndhra Dēśa*—who had an army of 1000 war-elephants, had defeated the *Mulikas* who had 10000 horses (cavalry), had compelled the *Gaudas* to leave the sea-border country as is apparent from the following *śloka*:—

जित्वाङ्घ्राधिपतिः सहस्रगणित त्रेधाक्षरद्वारणम्
व्यागल्गान्नियुतानि संख्यतुरगान् भंक्त्वारणे मूलिकान् ।
कृत्वा चायति योचितस्थलभुवो गौडान्समुद्राश्रया
नभ्यासिष्ट नतक्षितीशचरणः सिंहासनः यो जिती ॥

13th śloka of inscription.

1. पितुश्चते पुत्रशतं भविता तव मातरि ।

मालव्यां माळवानाम शाश्वताः पुत्रपौत्रिणः ॥

2. Does the epithet *अश्वपति* of *अश्वपति गजपति नरपति राजत्रयाधिपति* of several inscriptions owe its origin to this line of kings one of whom had conquered *आन्ध्रदेश*.

The Mahākōsala country seems to be very powerful during this period of Īśāna Varman's reign and thereabout. The lords of कोसल were styled as प्राक् परमेश्वर the Supreme Lord of the eastern region.

From the Lakshman temple inscriptions of Bālārjuna Śiva Gupta, it is clear that Sūrya Varman had his capital and kingdom somewhere to the west of the Kōsala, apparently Mahākōsala kingdom.

Sūryavarman—the father in-law of king Harsh Gupta of Kōsala and the father of queen Vāsaṭā to whom is attributed the erection of the superb brick temple at Sirpur (old Śripur) in the Raipur District of the Central Provinces, is in all probability the same Sūryavarman of Mukhar Line—the son of Īśāna Varman of our inscription.

I close my paper with the following quotations from the Lakshman temple inscription referred to above:—

स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाहर्षम् । ८
तेनावृतः सततमेव चामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [यऊहे]

... ..
तस्मद् जायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वितथं प्रतीतः ।
भोमेन यः सुत इवप्रथमः पृथायापृथ्वीं जिगाय रणकसरिणानुजेन ॥ ९२

... ..
तस्योरुजन्य जयिनो जननी जनानाम् ईशास्य शैलतनयेन मयूरकेतोः ।
विस्मापनी विबुध लोकधियांबभूव श्री वासटेति नरसिंहतनोः सटेव ॥ ९५
निष्पंके मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां
पुण्याभिः कृतिभिः कृति कृतमनः कम्पः सुधाभोजिनाम् ।
यामासाद्यसुतां हिमाचल इव श्री सूर्यवर्म्मानृपः
प्राप प्राक् परमेश्वर श्वशुरतागर्वानिस्वर्ग पदम् ॥ ९६

Born in the unblemished family of the Varmanas, great on account of (their) supremacy over *Magadha*, the illustrious (and) pious king Sūrya Varmana who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter (Vāsaṭā), obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (परमेश्वर) of the East, like Himālaya (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter *Pārvati* to the great god (परमेश्वर) Śiva.³

The word प्राक् परमेश्वर to denote the lordship of vast and extensive kingdom of Kōsala in the east is sufficient to prove the importance and greatness of महाकोसल or दक्षिणकोसल by which two names our *Kōsala* is better known.

TELUGU NUMERALS IN THE NORTH-INDIAN PLAY OF GULLI-DANDĀ

JAYACHANDRA.

Kabaḍḍī and Gullī-Ḍaṇḍā are the two truly national games of India. They are played throughout the length and breadth of India from the interior of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and perhaps further. Their origin and history remain unknown. So far as I am aware, no scholar has yet given his attention to the subject. I do not pretend that I have done it, or am able to trace them to their source, but I beg to record here an observation of mine, which may offer, to persons more competent than myself, a clue to the origin of the play of Gullī-Ḍaṇḍā. The observation was made twelve years ago, and I have been guilty of keeping it to myself all throughout this period. The reader will not like to bother himself with my explanations.

I had played Gullī Ḍaṇḍā in my own childhood, but then I did not know Telugu, nor had the ability to observe such facts. From 1919 or 1920 a young gentleman named Venkataramayya came to the Gurukula at Kangeri, Hardwar, where I used to live then, with the intention of learning Hindi. He readily consented to teach me Telugu, while learning Hindi himself. I made some progress in the language at the time. My present knowledge of it is practically nil. I have followed the time honoured maxim—**अस्यठितं तद्गुरवे निवेदितम्!** But in 1921, I had still not

parted with it. I was living then in the fine Gujarati city of Surat. And one fine August evening, as I amused myself seeing my young companions in the garden-house play at Gullī-Ḍaṇḍā (or Gullī-Ḍaṇḍā as it is styled in Gujarati), I marked that while the Ḍaṇḍā-player hit Gullī (or Gillī) to a distance, and the field party could not strike the Ḍaṇḍā in centre with Gullī, and the distance of the Gullī from the centre was being measured with Ḍaṇḍā, they uttered words in such measuring which sounded like Telugu numerals.

I asked the boys to repeat to me the words and I noted them down. They are these: वकट, रेंड, मूड, नाल, अंकि, बंगि, जकुर. They stop with जकुर, and again count वकठ, रेंड etc. Now it will be observed that the first four of these are Telugu Numerals: वकटि, रेंडु, मूडु, नालुगु.

I cannot explain the last three. I asked the players what they meant by **वकट**, **रेंड** etc; and why they counted that way instead of counting in Gujarati Numerals: **एक्**, **बे**, **त्रण** etc. Of course, they could not give me any explanation. All that they knew was that it was the traditional way of counting in the play of Gilli-Dandā.

Some four or five years later I observed similar numerals being repeated in the game as it is played at Lahore. I could not record their exact forms. But I am sure that the first numeral in the Punjab also was **वकट**, and the second and the third resembled those current in Gujrat. My impression is that while in Gujrat, the numerals **वकट**, **रेंड** etc., are invariably used in the game, in Panjab sometimes these and sometimes the ordinary Panjabi numerals are repeated.

I need not say that it may be useful to observe the game as it is played in the different provinces of India, and record the observations. They may perhaps lead us to the result that the game of Gullī-Dandā is Telugu in origin.

THE KINDOPPA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMA OF THE KALINGA KINGDOM.

M. NARASIMHAM.

1. *History of the plates:* This is a set consisting of three copper plates which was secured by my friend Dr. C. Narayanarao, M.A. Ph.D. He procured it from a cultivator through one of his friends of Sringavarapukota (in the district of Vizagapatam) where the plates were at first discovered. Thinking that the set was made of gold, he broke the last plate into two halves and got one piece melted by a goldsmith who found it to be copper. Hence the remaining set was left intact.

Dr. C. Narayanarao gave this set to me to decipher and edit it in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. I am therefore highly grateful to my friend Dr. Narayanarao Pantulu Garu M.A. Ph.D. for giving me an opportunity to edit these plates and express my views thereon.

These plates are three in number and rectangular in shape with the rims not well formed. In spite of this fact, the writing is in a very good state of preservation. Each plate measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 inches and they are secured by a strong solid copper ring of about one inch in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into a circular copper Seal of the royal family. On the counter sunk surface of the seal are impressed in bold relief the figure of a conch shell. No legend is to be seen on the seal. The first plate and the third plate contain no writing on their outer faces which are purposely meant to serve as covers only. Each face contains five lines of writing matter and thus the grant contains in all twenty lines of written matter. The third plate as already mentioned is broken into two pieces and the piece away from the ring is lost to us forever by the ignorance of the cultivator. It is a matter of keen disappointment to find that this piece of the plate thus destroyed contained the most valuable portion of the grant viz. the date of the inscription.

2. *Alphabet and Language:* Though the plates lay buried in the earth for a very long time, and though the rims are not well raised, the letters, being inscribed deep, the writing is very well preserved. In one or two places, the plates have become rusty but the letters in those places are clear from the context. The letters are well formed and the scribe seems to possess a good settled hand. The whole inscription is written in the Telugu-kannada script.

The Śiripuram copper plate grant of this king edited by me in the '*Bharati*' of September 1931 was also engraved in the same script. From the style of writing and from the formation of the letters, I am tempted to believe that these two sets were engraved by one and the same scribe who did not even mention his name in any one of the two grants. In the inscriptions of the later Ganga kings, the scribe's name is generally to be seen.

A few orthographical remarks on the writing are not out of place: 'varma', 'ārgiṭa', 'durlabha' in such words the letter 'r' is invariably doubled. In certain places the 'bindu' is indicated by a dot over the letter preceeding. In the words 'puṭraḥ', 'pauṭraḥ' etc., the 'ṭ' is doubled. This doubling is in strict conformity with the rules of grammar. Of the vowels 'a', 'ā' and 'ē' are used. Numerals are not used anywhere. The final consonantal sound 'm' in the word 'upaśṭāṭavyam' is indicated by the 'ṣ'.

Errors of writing are not many. The word 'Brāhmaṇa' is written correctly in one place and in another place is spelt as 'Brāhmaṇa'. The words in the inscription, 'tēllavalli', kindōppa and 'achanta' are pure Telugu words. Since these are proper nouns, there is no objection for their use in a Sanskrit composition. In spite of this, these words did not lose their Andhra character. Though we cannot at present enter here into their Etymological origin, certain it is they have a pure Andhra sound to our ears. The village 'Āchanta' can be identified with the modern village of 'Āchanta'.

The whole text of the grant is written in Sanskrit. The main body of the inscription is written in prose and '*vyāsagītās*' in poetry. Grants and endowments to temples are generally written in the spoken language of the land, for they are meant for the people. Such grants are generally written on stone which serve the purpose of a notice board in our modern offices. Asōka inscribed his inscriptions on stone in 'pali' for the same reason. The numerous inscriptions at Srikurmam, and Mukhalingam and in many other places belong to the same category. But inscriptions on metal are of a different nature. They are meant for the learned Brahmins and Scholars who are generally versed in the 'Vēdas' and their 'Angās'. The donees can very well understand Sanskrit, the language of the pandits. Hence inscriptions on copper are generally in Sanskrit. Sometimes they take the form of poetry. In the records of very early times prose only was used. Later on came poetry and still later, vernacular poetry also came to be used in copper plate grants. Copper plate inscriptions in the language of the country are therefore rare. The language of our grant is chaste, simple in style, free from myths and strictly conforms to the rules of grammar.

3. *Geneology of the kings:* The names of three successive kings ending with the donor are mentioned in this grant. Each one of them is termed a Mahārājah. The first of them is Guṇavarma. He is spoken of as the Lord of 'Dēvarāshtra.'

Regarding Guṇavarma, the following adjuncts are used in the present inscription:—

- 1 His character is pure like the rays of the Śāraḍa moon.
- 2 He is the lord of Dēvarāshtra.
- 3 He is famous for victories won in many fierce battles.

Guṇavarma's son is Prabhanjana Varma. He is spoken of as expanding the riches of his country by skilful administration. We cannot therefore think that Prabhanjana Varma had acquired Kalingam.

His son is Anantavarma. He is the donor of the present grant. The following attributes are recorded of him;—

- 1 He acquires land by the strength of his arms.
- 2 He is learned and strong.
- 3 He is obedient to God and to his Gurus.
- 4 He is a devout follower of Śiva.
- 5 He is a dutiful son of his parents.
- 6 He is the Lord of Kalingam.

The three kings mentioned in the plates have the word 'Varma' as their title. Hence they are no doubt Kshatriyas. Of these kings Prabhanjana Varma is styled as the 'moon of the family of Vāsishta'. So they belong to the Gōtra of Vasishṭa.

4. *Pishtapura:* Anantavarma, the king of Kalinga, is the donor of the present plates. It is not known from where and how far was his kingdom extending. The extent of the kingdom must be different in different times. The present plates are issued from Pishtapura which is the modern Pithapur. The plates say:— 'Pishtapurāḍhishṭhānāt'. Instead of saying 'Pishtapurāt', it is said Pishtapurāḍhishṭhānāt. There is some difference. From the use of the word 'aḍhishṭhānāt' we can judge that Pithapur was not the royal capital but that the king had camped at that place in his royal circuit and had granted the gift from that camping place. We can infer that Pithapur formed part of the kingdom of Kalinga in those days. Perhaps the river Godavari formed the Southern limit of the Kalinga kingdom. If Pithapur was only a royal camping place, what then is the capital? It is not clear from these plates. The Siripuram plates of this same king Anantavarma clearly tell us that 'Dēvapuram' was his capital. There it is stated as 'Vijiadēvapurāt.' Though this town is not mentioned in the plates under review, since it

is expressly mentioned in his Siripuram plates, we may conclude that Dēvapuram was the head-quarters of the king. Only two inscriptions of this king Anantavarma have come to light so far. The first was discovered at Siripuram and the present one is the second. No other inscription, either on stone or metal, has been forthcoming.

5. *Comparison of the two Inscriptions of Anantavarma:* The Siripuram plate mentions the grant of the village of Kharapuri to the Brahmins and it was issued from the royal capital of 'Dēvapuram'. The king assembled the householders at 'Nandapuram' and published the contents of the grant. The present plate mentions the gift of the village Kindōppa to a Brahmin and is issued from Pithapur, the royal camping place. The king assembled the householders at Kindōppa in the district of Tellavalli and made known to the people the conditions of the grant.

The two C. P. inscriptions of this king are discovered in the Vizagapatam District. (The Siripuram plates near Chipurupalli and the present plates near Springavarapukota). Though we cannot identify and locate 'Dēvapuram' of the Siripuram plates, we can identify 'Pishtapuram' as the modern Pithapur of the Godavari District. Nandāpuram of the Siripuram plates is also identified with the village of Nandāpuram in the Jayapur Estate of the Vizag District. Kindōppa of this grant cannot be identified; but Nandāpuram and Kindōppa must be fairly big villages, for the king Anantavarma had camped in those villages and made known to the public the gifts and contents of the two grants. Kharapuri is described as very near Dēvapuram.

6. *Dēvarāshtram:* Anantavarma's grandfather Guṇavarma is described in this grant as the Lord of Dēvarāshtra. In the Siripuram plates, he is not spoken of as such. Though the two inscriptions were issued by one and the same king, it is not known why, in the Siripuram plates, Guṇavarma was not stated to be the king of Dēvarāshtra. Guṇavarma could not have acquired Dēvarāshtra subsequent to the Siripuram grant for, the two grants were given by his grandson Anantavarma.

This country is to be identified with modern Yalamanchili Taluq in Vizagapatam District. Elamanchi-Kalingam is mentioned as lying in the same region Dēvarāshtra in the Kasimkota Plates of Chalukya Bhima (A. D. 888—918) (Vide Professor Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 60).

We know for certain that Dēvapuram was the capital of Anantavarma. Perhaps this Dēvanapuram gave the name to the kingdom of Dēvarāshtra. But Anantavarma was the king of Kalingam. Therefore Dēvarāshtra must have been a district in the kingdom of Kalinga. The kingdom of Kalinga consisted of a number of 'Vishayās' or districts of

which Dēvarāshtra must be one such. Then Guṇavarma must have been the ruler of only Dēvarāshtra. His grandson Anantavarma must have extended his kingdom by his prowess and became lord of Kalinga. This argument seems probable.

7 *Tēllavalli Vishaya:* In the modern Zamindary of Jeypore flows a river by name 'Tel'. In the early times, it used to be called the 'Telivāhi'. This river joins the Mahānadi which flows through Orissa and joins the sea away from Cuttack. In the present record, the village of Kindōppa is stated to be in the Vishaya of Tēllavalli. We know that rivers give their names to the tract of the country around them. The modern Jayapore must have been called Tēllavalli Vishaya on account of the river Telivāhi which flows across it. Hence the village of Kindōppa must also be located in the modern Jeypore Zamindary. The village of Nandāpuram mentioned in the Siripuram plates is also situated in the Jeypore Estate. We also hear that the Zamindars of Jayapore have the custom of performing the coronation ceremony only at Nandāpuram. It is at this Nandāpuram that Anantavarma assembled the people and made known to them the contents of the Siripuram inscription. Kharapuri must also be not far off from Nandāpuram. This is the village that was given to the Brahmins by Anantavarma. There is at present a village called Khoraput in that estate. Perhaps it used to be called Kharapuri in those times.

8. *The Donee:* His name is Matṛi Śarma. He is described as enjoying the village of Achanta. There are at present two villages of this name. One is near Bobbili in the Vizag District and the other in the West Godavari District. Anantavarma must have granted the village of Kindōppa to Matṛi Śarma of the Achanta village in the Vizag District. He is described as coming from the Gōtra of Kauśika and belonging to the branch of Taitṭiriya. He is therefore a follower of the Yajurvēda School. King Anantavarma bestowed the village of Kindōppa on this Brahmin at *Uttarāyana puṇyākāla* as an Agrahāra free of all taxes.

9. *The time of the king's two inscriptions:* Of the two inscriptions of this king, it is very difficult to determine which of them was first issued. It would have been very easy if the second half of the third plate of this inscription which bears the date was not destroyed by the ignorance of the cultivator who first unearthed it. Since this portion is lost to us for ever, we will have to depend upon the internal evidence of the two plates themselves. The Siripuram plates were issued according to my view in the year 86 A. D. The present plates

1. For a detailed discussion of this date the readers are requested to peruse my article on those plates in the Telugu Journal 'Bharati' of September 1931

were issued on the 13th day when the Sun entered the sign of 'Makara'. This *Uttarāyana* time generally falls on or about the 12th of January every year. It is stated in the Siripuram plates that, with the consent of his mother, the king Anantavarma had granted the village of Kharapuri to the Brahmins. It is further stated that his mother had set apart a portion of the capital town of Dēvapuram to be included in the Agra-hāram of Kharapuri. Hence we conclude that the mother of Anantavarma was alive at the time of the Siripuram grant. The village of Kindōppa was given to Matri Śarma at the *Uttarāyana* auspicious time. No mention of his mother was at all made in his grant. Hence we will have to think that his mother was dead and that, according to the Hindu conception of religious merit, the king, gave away as 'dānam' or gift the village of Kindōppa to a Brahmin on the *Uttarāyana* auspicious day. Hence the Kindōppa grant must be subsequent to that of Siripuram.

10. *The date of the plates:* Though this part of the subject is the most important one for the historian, he is sorely disappointed for want of accurate data. The time and the date portion given in the plates are lost to us. Hence the Siripuram grant must be our chief guide to determine once more this important subject. I therefore propose to review my own article published in the 'Bhārati' of September 31. The date as given in the Siripuram grant is as follows:— "*ashtāśśaka Samkhyabhyah mahāśwayujē samvatchare māgha māsa paurṇamāsyaṃ*". What remains in the Kindōppa plates of the date of the grant is as follows:— "*Pravarddhamānayā rājya śriyā rājaka..... (tra) yodasyām uttarāyane dharma*" etc. From the above data we find that the Siripuram grant was issued in the year of mahāśwayuja on the fullmoon day in the month of Māgha in the eighth year of the Śaka Era. The calculation as we see from the wording, is done according to the 'Gurūdayā bda māna' style.² I therefore fixed the date of the Siripuram grant as 86 A. D. In the present plates the number of the year in the Śaka Era and the name of the year are not found. What is left is '*triyodasyāmuttarāyane*' which means the 13th day when the *Uttarāyana* commenced. Though this fragment of the date is not enough for fixing the exact date of this grant, certain it is that the two plates were issued by one and the same king and hence the date of the plates will be, say, about ten years or so after 86 A. D.

A certain Śaktivarma appears to be a ruler of Kalinga subsequent to our Anantavarma. The Ganga Era 'Pravarddhamāna vijayarāja Śaka' must have come into vogue after the departure of Samudragupta from the

2. This is the only inscription in South India, so far known, where the date is given in this style.

Deccan., Prof. Dubrieul in his *Ancient History of the Deccan* has written on page 93 that this Śaktivarma belonged to the Māgaḍhikula and that he ruled over Pithapur. He says that the Gupta Emperor, having overthrown the king of Pithapur, had installed this man, a relation of his, on the throne of Pishtapura. Śaktivarma is described as 'Vāsishtīputra' and bears the title of Varma and hence it is probable that he belonged to the family of our Anantavarma.

The kingdom of Kalinga was for some time under the rule of the kings of *Vaśishtaśa Gōtra*. Then followed the Gāṅga line comprising Hastivarma, Indravarma, Dēvendravarma etc. Though these kings of Kalinga also bear the title of Varma, since they belong to a different Gōtra they cannot be considered to have come from the family of our Anantavarma. This line was succeeded by another line of kings of Ganga dynasty comprising Vajrahasta, Kāmārṇava, Rājaraja, Anantavarma Chōḍagangadēva etc. These kings come from the *Ātrēya Gōtra*. The two latter dynasties of kings were the worshippers of the Lord Gōkarnēśvaraswāmi on the top of the mountain Mahēndragiri. They clearly state that they owed their kingdom to the favour of this God on the mountain peak. Anantavarma of our plates, though a devout worshipper of Siva, never mentions this God and the mountain peak over which the temple exists. Perhaps the temple of Gokārnēśvara was not established at that time.

II. *The Substance of the Grant:* Gunavarma, in character pure as the autumnal rays of the full moon, was the lord of Dēvarāshtra. He was famous for many victories won in fierce battles. His son was Prabhanjanavarma. He enriched the wealth of his kingdom by wise and careful administration. He was like the moon of the family of Vaśishta. Prabhanjana's son was Anantavarma. Anantavarma issued these plates from his royal camp of Pishtapuram. He secured the land by the strength of his arm. He was strong at arms, learned, obedient, worshipped Devās and Brahmins and was very famous. He was also a Paramamāhēśvara and a worshipper of the feet of his parents. He was the Mahārāja of Kalinga. He assembled the householders at the village of Kindōppa in the 'Tellavalli Vishaya' and proclaimed as follows:—"I constitute this village as an 'agrahāram' free of all taxes and bestow it on Matrīśarma of Achanta village on the auspicious 'Uttarāyana' time for the increase of my religious merit. May this 'agrahāram' exist as long as the moon, sun and the stars endure. May this Brahmin enjoy the fruit of this village for posterity. None should steal even a small part of the land. The future kings should see my gift perpetuated for ever without any break." Then follows the Vyāsa smṛiti in three ślōkās. The date of the grant was then given (A piece of the plate is here broken and lost). What is left of the date is '*Trayōḍasi*' and '*Uttarāyanam*'.

TEXT.

1st plate, 2nd side.

- 1 Ōm.1 Svasti vijaya Piṣṭapurādhishṭhānāt mahī
maṇḍalavyāpi śāradēndukara nirmala guṇasya
- 2 Dēvarāṣṭrādhipatēr anēka samara saṅghaṭṭa
vijayādhigata yaśasōh Mahārājaśrī Gu
- 3 ṇa varmmaṇōh parama pautrah śaktitrayōpanata
rājya sampadē Vāsishṭakula chandra ma
- 4 sah śrī Mahārāja Prabhaṃjana varmmaṇah priyaputrah
svabala vikramōpārjita bhūr na
- 5 ya vinaya satva sampattādhigata yaśōdēva dvi
jāti gurujanānudhyāna sam

2nd plate, 1st side.

- 1 varddhita mahimā parama Māhēśvarō mātā
pitṛ pādānuddhyātām Kaliṅgādhipati śrī
- 2 mahārājānantā²varmma Tēllavalli vishayē Kiṇḍōppa
grāmē sarvva samavētān kutu
- 3 mbinah samājñāpa yatyasti ēshagrāmē
smā bhir Uttarāyanē smat puṇyābhivridha
- 4 yē ētasmai Kauśika gōtrāya Taittirīya sa
brahma³chāriṇē āchanṭipura bhōgi
- 5 ka mātṛ śarmmaṇe āchandrārkātāraka
pratishṭa magrahāram kṛitvā sarvva karabharaiḥ

2nd plate, 2nd side.

- 1 parihṛtya sampradattasta dēvamavadhṛt
ājñairbhavadbhistadājñānuvidhayibhiḥ⁴pratyaha
- 2 mupasthātavyam brāhmaṇēnachātumā nagrahārah putra pautri⁴
kamupabhujyāmā
- 3 nēnakaiśchiddha⁵leabhadurlabhairāpaharta
vyahāgāmibhirapirājarshi
- 4 bhirvṛttamanupālayadbhiryadhāyadhar
maprasavasyā Vichchēdēnapravvṛi
- 5 ttirbhavatitadhānushtēyam ēvanchasati
tatratēshāmapidharmanābhisamba

3rd plate, 1st side.

- 1 ndha smaryatē⁶ bahubhirvasudhādattābahubhi⁷...
- 2 syatasyatadāphālam svadattām paradattām⁸vāyatnāḥ
- 3 chchrēyōnupālanam shashṭivarsha sahasrāṇi svargē⁹
- 4 nyēvanarakē vaṣē pravarddhamānayā rājya sriyārājaka¹⁰...
- 5 yōdaśyam uttarāyaṇadharmpapradānam kṛtamitibha¹¹...

1. 'Om' is indicated by a spiral mark. 2. Fead 'nanta' 3. Read 'Brahma

4. Read *pautrika*.

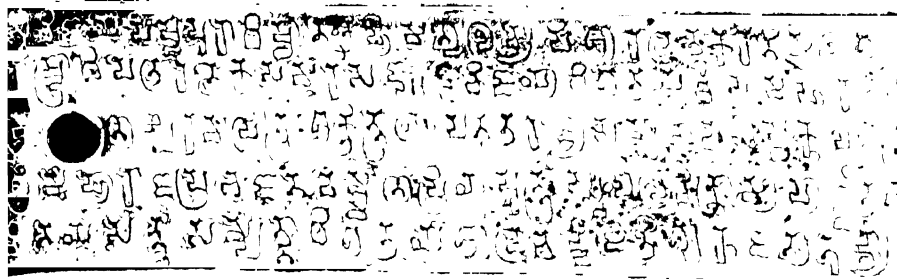
5. Perhaps it should be read as "alpabhūlabhairnapahartavyah"

6. 'dhasmaryate' would mean something.

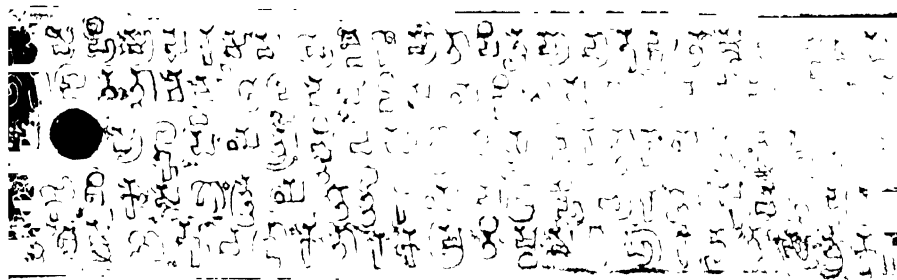
7, 8, 9, 10, 11. The last two lines indicate the date of the grant. The plate is broken and the last part of it is lost.

PHOTO-PRINTS OF KINDOPPA PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA.

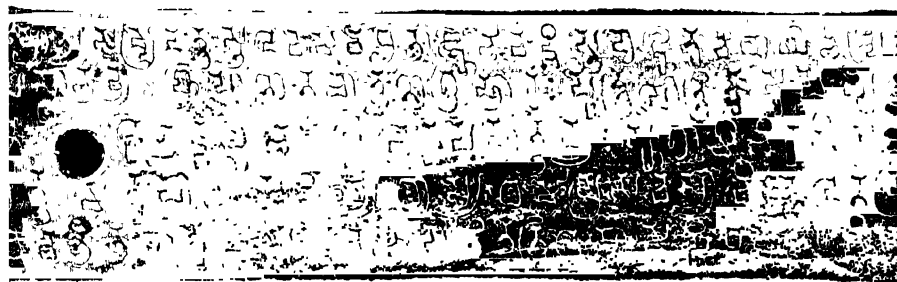
First plate, second side.



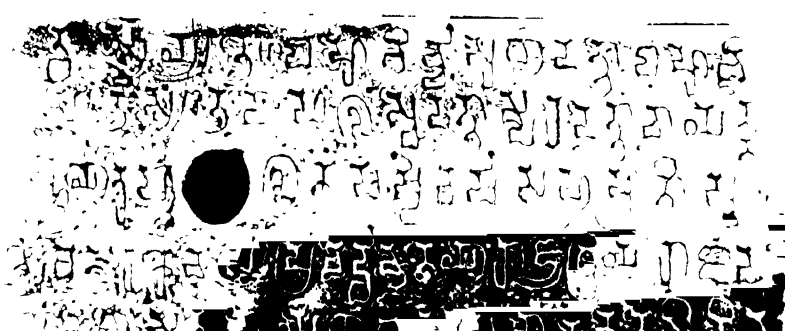
Second plate, first side.



Second plate, second side.



Third plate, first side.



THE SEMANTICS OF DRAVIDIAN *KEI

A. F. THYAGARAJU.

The primitive Dravidian root *kei=to do has been preserved with the appropriate phonetic changes in all the languages of the family. It appears both in the palatalised and unpalatalised forms in the various branches.¹ I propose in this article to discuss the semantics of this root and draw attention to the different applications to which it has been put in Telugu, referring incidentally to its semasiological functions in the cognate dialects.

The verb "to do" appears in the palatalised form in Telugu as "chēyu". Kanarese has the original but subsequently voiced gē, geyi, geyu=to do,² whereas Tamil has the palatalised and softened sei=to do. The word for hand in Telugu is cheyyi. We may note, however, that the literary language has the following forms also: kai, kayi, kēlu, cheṭṭa. Tamil and Malayalam have kai for hand (Kui has kēyu) but the palatalised forms for the verb.

Whether the nominal form is derived from the verbal root or the verb from the nominal root is hard to decide. If the primitive speaker developed words for concrete ideas before he did so for abstract conceptions, kei=had must be older than kei=to do.⁴

1. See my note on Palatalisation in the Dravidian Language in the *Indian Antiquary*, August 1922.

2. But Kanarese has preserved the semantically related forms where the primitive consonant is retained unvoiced: kela=side, kelasa=work, (Tulu, kelasa; Badaga, gelasa) kelasige=a barber (It is curious why "work" should come to mean preeminently "shaving and hairdressing" e.g. in the colloquial Telugu of certain districts pani (work)—shaving. Cf. Malayalam: panikkar—a barber). Kan also has gēme=work; gaita, gaime a deed.

Further, Kan. geyi which—to work also means to till the work of the typical Dravidian. From this i.e. original *keyi, I believe we have keyi a field (cf. Tel. chēnu), also kere—a tank (cf. Telugu cheruvu).

The forms given above suggest that "i" is an integral part of the root, which is preserved in Telugu kēlu. Our pandits derive this from Skr. kuli. Is this correct?

Vide also my Footnote 4. Perhaps original Dravidian k-l=limb.

3. Kanarese has kai=hand.

4. It is interesting to note that most of the words for the important organs of the body begin with k. (a) kai=hand, (kēlu), (b) kāl=foot, (c) kevi=ear (kādu), (d) kaṇ=eye, (e) kaṇṭu=neck, (f) kaḍupu=stomach, (g) kenne=cheek (chempa), kankula=armpit (chankili). Is it possible that these have all radiated from a common root 'ka'? We are already discussing the derivatives of (a). From (c) we have the simple verbs: kēl, kēḍ—to hear; from (d) kân (kanu)—to see; from (e) katta—to shout, kural=voice, keralu—to shout, and possibly kuḍi—to eat or drink, koraku, karuchu—to bite.

Many striking verbal themes are derived from k. These have to be carefully studied and classified. Tulu has korpe=makes, koru—to give (kudu),

Though the k-forms are found in written Telugu, they are not as common as the ch-forms. We shall therefore discuss the latter first.

From *chē*=to do are derived *chēta*, *sēta* work.⁵ (Kanarese *kelasa*, Badaga *gelasa* are the corresponding derivatives).

Chēyi not only means hand but also a beam of light, a side, a hold, a length of two cubits. (Cf the semantics of English *hand*). From this are derived *chē* or *chēta*, the ending of the instrumental case, meaning literally "By the hand of" the compounds *chēkuṛu*, *chēkūḍu*, *chēkūru*, *chēkūṛu*, *chētavulu*, *chēpaḍu*, *choppaḍu*=to come into possession, *chēkonu*=to reach, to patronise, to triumph (for the last meaning of Kanarese *geli*, *gelu*, *gellu*, Telugu *geluchu* and vide footnote 2) have this *chē* as their first element;⁶ *chendu*=to receive; *chēṭa*=a winnowing fan is probably from the same root, since it is a useful utensil used with the hand.⁷

Another idea developed from the hand meaning is proximity (cf English "at hand"). This has given rise to *chenta*, *chengali*, *chengaṭa*=near, *chēdu*=to draw water, *chēda*=a vessel for drawing water, (older **chendu*, *chenda*), *chēpu*=milk collecting in the udder (in Kanarese this also means to pour water with a bucket) *chērupu*, *chērika*=nearness.

A related idea is that of joining. *Chēru*=to reach, to approach, *chērika*=joining. As a noun *chēru*=link, a chain, closeness. (The connection is quite clear). The causative derived from this root is *chēru-chu*=to join. *Ghērugonḍi*=a woman who has lived with a man. From the concept of joining we get *chēruva*=an army, a multitude.

Chērēḍu=two handfuls, *chēru*=to sift rice and *chēruḍulu*=a variety of rice are from *chēyi*=hand. *Chēvāḍi*=robbery (cf English sleight of hand.)

The k-forms found in Telugu are as follows: *Kayi*=hand, *kayikonu*=to receive, to mind; *kayikaṭṭu*=opportunity; *kayikānuka*=a ceremonial offering; *kayikōlu*=acceptance; *kayikōla*=a caste of weavers; *kayichāpulu* (literally extending of the hand) a salute; *kayyamu*=struggle (a picturesque reminder of the part played by the hands in fighting); *kaisēyu*=to adorn. There are many more; I have mentioned only the most interesting.

keriye=killed (kol). Note the following Kanarese forms: *Kakku*=to vomit, *Kanki*=ear of corn, *kanatale*=the temples, *kangedu*=to be blinded or vexed, *kangāru*=displeasure, *kani*=sight. The cognates in other languages can be easily perceived.

There is no doubt that all these forms are connected with the terms for the bodily organs.

5. Since the *arasunna* or *ardhabinduvu* is very important and indicates the original presence of a nasal which has since disappeared, I mark it in the transliteration of Telugu by the diacritical *̃* over the macron.

6. One of the Tel. words for elephant: *chēgalamekamu*=the beast with the hand, is perhaps a translation of Skr. *hasti*=elephant, lit. the animal with the hand, < *hasta*=hand. Tel. *chēyi* also means trunk. Cf. Mal. *tumbi kai*.

7. What is the etymology of Tel. *chēpa*=fish? The form implies an older **chempa*.

✓ SIX NEW EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

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Introduction.

Nearly twenty years ago, these Six Copper-Plate Inscriptions were discovered near Chicacole, Ganjam District and sent in 1918 to the Superintendent, Government Epigraphical Department, Madras for examination. He noticed them in his Annual Report for the year 1918-19 and returned them to the owner, Mr. C. Narayanarao. It was originally intended that they should be published in the *Epigraphica Indica* by Messrs. G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu and C. Narayanarao, but in vain. However, the latter, who was one of the Founders of this Society and its first President, decided to publish the same in this journal at the suggestion of Mr. R. Subbarao and under the joint editorship. These six Plates which were originally intended for publication in this Journal have recently been printed in Telugu with the permission of the Managing Council, with photo prints except for one, in the Commemoration Volume published in honour of Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu Garu, B.A. by Mr. R. Subbarao. We have decided to publish them in the J.A.H.R.S. which has already been widely recognised to have contained several original contributions that advanced the knowledge of scholars specially in regard to one hitherto little-known dynasty that ruled over Kalinga for nearly ten centuries and about which several inscriptions, (both copper-plate and stone) and contributions bearing upon them have already appeared in the pages of the journal. We are thankful to our learned friends, Messrs. C. Atmaram B.A., B.L. and V. Apparao, B.A., B.L., the present Joint-Secretaries of the Society, for kindly helping us with their suggestions with regard to readings in the Texts of the Inscriptions.

The Texts of the six Inscriptions which are given below are prepared by us with the help of the original Copper-Plates which are still in our possession. The details for the first three Plates are given before the Texts and those for the remaining three after them

(1) THE COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA, (C.P. No. 3 of 1918-19.)

(a) *Description of the Plates.*

These are six in number weighing 160 tolas. They are all strung together on a ring containing a seal which weighs 70 tolas. Thus, the total weight of the whole set is 230 tolas. The first plate has no writing on its first side which therefore acts merely as a cover to the set. The second side of fifth plate has got only five letters and a sixth plate is

added probably to protect the set. It is not fully blank but contains traces of writing here and there. Evidently, a defaced plate is used as a cover. Each plate measures $8\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{3}{4}"$. The ring which holds together the six plates is 4" in diameter. The hole through which the ring passes is $\frac{3}{4}"$ in diameter. The Seal on the ring whose two ends are soldered into it is 2" in diameter. It has in high relief a couchant Bull or *Nandi* in the centre of the disc and the image is $1\frac{1}{4}"$ in length and $\frac{3}{4}"$ in height. In front of it is carved out a Crescent and behind it a Drum. To its right side are found figures of a Conch shell or *Sinkha* and a Plough-share or *Nāgali* and to its left side are found a Trident or *Trisūla* and an Elephant-goat or *Ankuśa*, both with long handles. All these figures are found in good relief. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the writing which is in an excellent state of preservation.

(b) *Alphabet and Language,*

The characters are old Nāgari differing from the modern script particularly in certain letters like i, ē, ṇ, cha and kha. The points which are peculiar for orthography are the following:—

(i) *v* is used for *b*; e.g., *śavda* for śabda (line 7 in Plate I, second face); *avda* for abda (line 7 in Plate II, first face; and lines 3 and 9 in the same); *ludha* for lubdha (line 1 in Plate II, second face); and so on. This is the method adopted in northern usage.

(2) The consonantal dental *n* sound as in *nivahān* and *abdakān* (lines 4 and 7, Plate II, first face) is expressed by a small stroke drawn underneath the letter.

(3) The *Anusvāra* is represented by a small *Bindu* or dot placed sometimes on the top of the letter and sometimes between the letters.

(4) There is a slight difference between *la* and *ṇa*.

(5) The palatal *śa* is used for dental *sa* as in *śalila* (line 3, Plate I, second face) and *sa* is used for *śa* as in *satru* (line 4, Plate II, first face) and *mahisah* (line 7, Plate II, second face).

(6) The labial *m* sound as in *gōtrāṇām* and *mashīṇām* (lines 3 and 4 respectively in Plate I, second face) is formed by a *Bindu* with the stroke of an inverted crescent underneath it.

(7) The *i* is formed by a crescent-like stroke from the top-centre of the letter to the left bottom while *ī* is formed by a similar stroke to the right bottom. (Cf. *i* and *ī* in *svasīśrī* in line I of Plate I, second face).

(8) The use of *prithvīm* (line 3 in Plate II, second face) and *pitri* (line 5 Plate V, first face) for *prthvīm* and *pitṛ* is peculiar.

The Language of the whole inscription is Sanskrit. Both prose and poetry are found. The *Sandhi* rules are not observed in several cases. The whole of Plate I, second face and the first two lines nearly of Plate II, first face are in prose. From the words *pūrvvām bhāpati*, at the end of second line, we get poetry, the *vr̥tta* being *sārdūlam*. There are several mistakes committed by the Scribe and the necessary readings or corrections are given by us in the footnotes,

(c) *Subject-matter of the Plates.*

The Donor of the Plates is the Eastern Gaṅga Emperor Vajrahasta III surnamed Anantavarma. Several of his Plates have already been published, and this set closely resembles them in all respects except the grant--portion where gifts are made and the concluding portion.

Plate I (second face) gives the usual description of the early history of this king's Line—how the Gangas, purified by several precious virtues, belong to Atrēya Gōtra, how they possess universal sovereignty resplendent with *Pancha mahāśubhas*, conch-shell, drum, parasol, chowrie and bull-crest which were obtained through favour of Gokarṇaswāmi established on Mt. Mahēndra and how they get Lordship of Three-Kalingas.

Plate II (both faces) gives the geneology and chronology of the Dynasty of the Donor-King Vajrahasta. It is stated that Guṇamahārṇava, who possessed Earth like Viṣṇu and who adorned the race of the Gaṅgas, had a son Vajrahasta who ruled for 44 years. He united the Earth which was already divided into 5 parts. His son, Guṇḍama ruled for 3 years and his Y. brother Vinayāditya for 3 years. Then, Kāmārṇava's son, Vajrahasta, surnamed Aniyanka Bhīma, who presented a thousand elephants to applicants ruled for 35 years. Then, his eldest son, Kāmārṇava ruled for 1/2 year. His younger brother, Guṇḍa ruled for 3 years. Then, his maternal half-brother Madhukāmārṇava ruled for 19 years.

Plate III (both faces) gives details about the donor—king himself. Vajrahasta III, born to Kāmārṇava and Vinayamahādēvi of Vaidumba family, who struck down with his sword the thunderbolt falling from Heaven, came to the throne in Ś. 960 when the Sun was in the house of Bull and the Moon in Rohini during *Dhanurlagna*.¹ The several good qualities of the king are then described. From the city of Kalinga-Nagara, the illustrious Vajrahasta Dēva, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the great King of kings, the Lord of Three Kalingas, being in good health and having assembled all the people headed by the Ministers, commanded and intimated:

Plate IV (first face) gives details of the gift made. For the merit and fame of his parents and himself, the whole village of Sattivāda, lying in the district of Ērada, was granted by the king, free from all taxes and obstacles and with all water rights in the land, in the Śaka year 971, on Sunday, the 13th day in the bright fortnight of Karkaṭaka month, to Gaṇapati Nāyaka, the son of Sridēvi and Kūtāḍi Nāyaka and the grand-son of Gaṇapati. He was a native of Valutavūru in Kanchi country.

1. The exact time of coronation is calculated to be 8—27 P. M. on Sunday night, 3rd May 1037 A. D. Vide L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*.

Plate IV (second face) urges future kings to protect this grant and gives the boundaries of the village granted in all the 8 directions. Only one village called Krōppali is mentioned as lying to the east of the village granted. All other boundaries consist of tamarind trees or ant-hills or tank-bunds.

Plate V (first face) gives four imprecatory verses (the usual ones) so that the grant might not be disturbed and states that the copper-plates were *written* (composed) by *Sandhivigrahi* (Secretary for peace and war) Dāmōdara who was the son of *Mahākhāyastha* (the great Alderman) *Sandhivigrahi* Māvūraya and *inscribed* by *Akshasāli* (Goldsmith) Vallēmōju.

(d) *Remarks.*

It is really interesting to note that these same two people, father and son, lived on to the time of this king's grandson Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga to render the same services to his Korni Copper-Plate Grant dated Ś. 1003.² It must also be remarked that the alphabet, language and subject-matter up to Vajrahasta III's accession in both these sets resemble closely each other. All the copper-plates of this king including this one give the same geneology and chronology which must therefore be accepted as giving the only true history.³ The Donee, Gaṇapatī Nāyaka of Valutavur in Kanchi country reveals to us that the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga had already established close relationship with the Chōla country which had Kanchi as its capital then. The king's son was called Rāja Rāja and this fact suggests that the Chōla name was adopted into Kalinga Gaṅga family just as it was already done into Eastern Chālukya family. It is learnt⁴ that a certain Paṅgu Sāmaya, son of Srikanta Nāyaka was the son-in-law and commander of this king. Probably, the Donee Gaṇapati Nāyaka was also a commander under the king who rewarded him for his military services.

(2) THE COPPER-PLATES OF RĀJARĀJA I. (C.P. No. 4 of 1918-19.)

(a) *Description of the Plates.*

For the first time in the history of the Eastern Gaṅgas, we are able to discover and publish one copper-plate inscription of this king though several of his father Vajrahasta III and of his son Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga have been published. It is therefore to be welcomed as an important record. The matter contained in C. P. No. 3 noted above

2. Published in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I part I, pp. 40—48.

3. The present plates resemble very closely in all respects except the grant and concluding portions the Chikkalavalasa and other Plates of this King.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p.183.

upto plate III, second face, line 6 is common with that of the present inscription upto plate III, second face, line 5

It consists of 5 plates weighing 102 tolas and a ring and a seal weighing 50½ tolas. Each plate measures 8¾" × 3¾". The ring is 4" in diameter and the seal 2". The seal has in the centre of its disc a Bull or *Nandi* in high relief in a couchant posture. It is 1" in height and 2" in length. It has in front of it the figures of Sun, Moon and Sun, carved out clearly. Behind is a *Damaru* (hand-drum). To its left side are found figures of *Trisūlam* (tri-dent), *Aṃkuṣam* (elephant-goad) and *Khaḍgam* (sword). To the right side are found *Lingam* in *Pānuvaṭṭim* (Phallus in a snake's head) and a Lampstand. All the figures are carved out in excellent clear relief and represent various symbols which indicate that the Dynasty was Lunar and its Kings were Saivites.

The first plate has no writing on its first side which merely acts as a cover. The fifth plate has faint remains of writing but the inscription it contained was erased, it being used as a cover to the record.

(b) *Alphabet and Language.*

They are the same as those of the one noted above. The characters are old Nagari written clearly and boldly and the language is Sanskrit. Plate I (second face), Plate II (both faces) and Plate III (upto line 6 of second face) are almost the same in all respects in this as well as in the previous record.

(c) *Subject-matter.*

It is the same as that noted in the previous record upto line 6 of second face of Plate III. From line 6 to the end of it, we learn about the good qualities of Vajrahasta III, and his rule of 33 years. Plate IV, first face states how to his wife Ananḡamahādēvi and himself was born Rāja Rāja just as Kārtikēya was born to Gauri and Hara. He came to the throne in Ś. 992 on Thursday, the eight day in the bright fortnight of Jyēṣṭha month, during *Uttara phalguni Lagnam*. The year corresponds to 1070 A. D. and the month to June. He was the Crest-jewel of Kalinga Rājas and called the illustrious Rāja Rāja. From Kalinganagaram, the glorious Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja Dēva, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the great King of kings, the Lord of Three Kalingas, being in good health and having assembled all *janapadas* (rural subjects), headed by Ministers, ordered and informed them thus:

Plate IV (second face) records the details of the actual gift. "For the increase of the merit of my parents and myself, the village of Brhatkodila in the District of Varāhavartani (Chicacole Taluq where these plates were discovered) along with the hamlet of Bhinnala Vāṭṭaka,

enclosed by four limits, has been granted by us along with all the water rights in it, and free of all taxes and obstacles, in the Śaka year 999 in the month of Chaitra (April) on the occasion of *Vishu Samkrānti* (summer solstice) in 6 shares of which 4 would go to Vāsudēvaśarma of the Vatsa gōtra, and 2 to Nārāyaṇīśarma of the Kāsyaya gōtra, who were both residents of the village of Kalipura”.

(d) *Remarks.*

The geneology and the chronology given in these Plates confirm those given in Vajrahasta's. The importance of this record lies in the fact that it gives the coronation date of King Rāja Rāja as June 992 Śaka year which corresponds to June 1070 A. D. This gives the dates for his father's reign, as Ś. 960 to Ś. 992 or A. D. 1038 to 1070 It gives 33 years as the duration of his reign.

(3) THE COPPER-PLATES OF THE TIME OF
MADHUKĀMĀRṆAVADĒVA. (C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19.)

(a) *Description of the Plates.*

Though these plates have been in our possession for several years, we failed to publish them much earlier as our hands were otherwise fully engaged and so our enterprising and learned friend Mr. G. Ramadas, B.A. set an example by publishing this set of plates in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, part III, pp. 272-295. Though we cannot agree with all the views expressed therein, particularly the portions dealing with the initial year of the Gaṅga Era, we must congratulate our learned friend on the able way in which he edited the plates.

It is a set of 3 plates strung in a ring whose two ends are soldered into a bracket containing a seal of the king. The 3 plates alone weigh 145 tolas and the ring and the seal together weigh 35 tolas. The 3 plates are very thick and their rims are raised so as to protect the writing. The first and the third plates contain no writing on their first and second sides respectively which therefore act as covers to the record contained therein. Each plate measures $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$. Each has a hole $\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter near the left central part. The ring has a diameter of $4''$ nearly and the seal $1''$. The surface of the seal contains in hollow (i.e., countersunk in it) the figures of sun, crescent and dagger in a slanting position at the top and below these a couchant Bull or *Nandi* on a stand facing right with an *Ankuṣa* or Elephant-goad in its front.

(b) *Alphabet and Language.*

The characters are old Nagari and the language is Sanskrit. In the use of both *lipi* and *bhāṣa*, we get a mixture of Oriya and this is really significant. Probably, the composer of the record was an Oriya. The scribe was either new to his work or careless and this belief is strengthened by three facts:—

(1) The rules of Sandhi are not properly observed in several places. (Vide footnotes for corrections.)

(2) Several letters and whole expressions are omitted.

(3) There are several incorrect readings in the original Text which necessitated the insertion of many footnotes by us.

A few points of orthographical interest are:—

(1) The odd use of *Tr* for *Tri* and vice-versa (Vide footnotes 24, 25 and 30, 31 for corrections).

(2) The omission of *Bindu* or *Pārnānuṣvāra* in several places (Vide footnotes 34, 35, 36, 38, 32, 42 and 44 for corrections).

(3) The omission of the consonantal dental *n* in the word *Śrīmān* wherever it occurs. (Vide footnotes 8, 11 and 13 for corrections.)

(c) *Subject-matter of the Plates.*

Residing in victorious Kalinganagara which resembles Amarapura, the son of Anantabrama(varma)deva, the jewel of the Gaṅga family, the Mahārājādhirāja Madhukāmārpavadēva who was free from the sins of Kali age by worshipping the holy feet of God Gōkarnasvāmi, the architect of the Universe having the Moon as his crest-jewel and Mt. Mahendra as his abode and whose feet were made resplendent with the lustre shed by the precious stones set in the crowns of vassal kings and who subdued all enemies by the help of the fine great sounds being in good health, —in his Reign, the Lord of Chinchali Pāṭṭyāpura lying in the west of the prosperous Trikhali in the province of Kalinga, who was the devout worshipper of Īśwara, who obtained the five great sounds, who was the very Bhairava in causing faintness to the Tamil enemy, and who was the jewel of the illustrious Kudālavana family, the glorious Lakshmaṇa Rāmadēva, having made into a *Vaiśyāgrahāra* (gift of village to vaiśyas or traders) the three villages of Paḍugrāma, Hōṇḍaravaḍo and Mōrakhino granted the same to the illustrious Ērapa Nāyaka who was the devout worshipper of the feet of his parents and of God Mahēśvara and who was the son of the illustrious Mañchi Nāyaka who belonged to the family of Vaiśyas or traders and who was originally a native of Paḍugrāma but who was then residing at Dantapura.

Plate II, second face and the first two lines of Plate III (a) record that the grant was made in perpetuity along with all water and land rights within its four limits, free from all molestations of *Rānakas* (Ruling chiefs), *Rājaputras* (Crown-princes), Vishayapatis (Heads of districts) and *Rājapādōpaḍvinas* (Royal dependents) and from the exacting entries of the irregular and regular Soldiers.

The boundaries of the grant are then described in great detail in all the eight directions and they consist mostly of trees, hills and lants.

Lines 3 and 4 of Plate III, first face, indicate that²⁰⁰⁵ *Murayas*

5. *Muraya* like *Putti* is a measure. Both the words are used for measurement of land as well as yield (grain) from it. Here, it is used as *Bhumi Muraya* (land measurement). The words *Mura* and *Muraka* are also found in Vajrahasta's plates. In this record 200 *Murayas* of land was set apart for a charitable inscription and 40 *Murayas* of land was given to the writer. It looks probable that land yielding 200 *Murayas* of grain was set apart for the charity and land yielding 40 *Murayas* was given to the writer of the Plates.

of land was set apart for *Mārgasatram* or high-way choultry and *Doli mrgavenṭa* was left out as waste-land and *Āpachivāḍa* was reserved as a parade-ground for *Rēvana Rauta* (Head of the cavalry). Lines 5—7 contain two usual imprecatory verses. The second half of line 7 states that 150 *Rupyas* or silver pieces were paid. Probably, the sum was paid to the Donee as *Dakṣhaṇa* or cash which should usually accompany any gift in kind. Lines 8 and 9 give the date of the grant as the 528 year of the prosperous and victorious Gaṅga Ēra, and state that the writer of the grant was Madhusūdana, son of Mādhava of Kalinga-Nagara, who was given 40 *Murayas* of land and the engraver was the *Akṣhaśāli* (goldsmith) Raṇama.

(d) *Remarks.*

This inscription, unlike the two previous ones, begins in the same way in which the Grants of the early Gaṅga kings begin, but instead of recording the king's gifts mentions those of his vassal Śrī Lakshmaṇa Rāmadēva. It is peculiar that the Donor's father is called Ananta *brahma* instead of Ananta *varma*, and the Donor-king, like the Sun, is said to worship with a pure mind and to meditate with a fully raised face and to belong to the spotless family of the river of the gods i.e., of Gaṅga family. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* shows that, by G. E. 528 or A.D. 1024, the king conquered the whole of the Kaling country extending from the river Godavari in the south to the river Vaitarini in the north and had several powerful vassals under him. One of them was Śrī Lakshmaṇa Rāmadēva of Kuḍālavaṇa family who obtained the five great Sounds as a token of his prowess and who defeated a Tamil enemy. It is not known who the enemy was but probably in a Tamil invasion of Kalinga, Rāmadēva helped the king in defeating and driving out the enemy. The Donee Ērapa Nāyaka who received 3 villages probably for helping Rāmadēva in a signal manner, was a Vaiśya of Dantapura. This is the earliest inscription which records the gift of a *Vaiśyāgrahāra*. *Brāhmaṇāgrahāras* and *Dēvāgrahāras* were usually granted by all the kings for patronising learning and religion. In a similar manner, the king's successor, Vajrahasta also gave a Vaiśyāgrahāra (the village of Kuddama) to a certain Mallapa *Śreṣṭhi*.⁶

The date of the grant is very important. Though it was read as 526 Ganga Era, both by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras and Mr. G. Ramadas, it would appear to be 528. The last numeral resembles the same one found in the C. P. Grant dated Ganga Era 138 of Dānārṇava's son, Indravarma and since it was read there as 8. We have also taken it to be 8 here. A C.P. Grant of a Dēvēndravarma of 397 G. E. was already published.⁷ No C. P. Inscription subsequent to that date has been published so far and this present one dated 528 G. E. would suggest that the kings intervening used the years of the Gaṅga Ēra only. We identify the king mentioned in this record with Madhukāmārṇava, the immediate predecessor of Vajrahasta III. In all his records as well as in the one of his son Rāja Rāja and in some of his grandson Chōḍagaṅga, only one king named Madhukāmārṇava is mentioned and so the king mentioned in this record must be identified with him only.

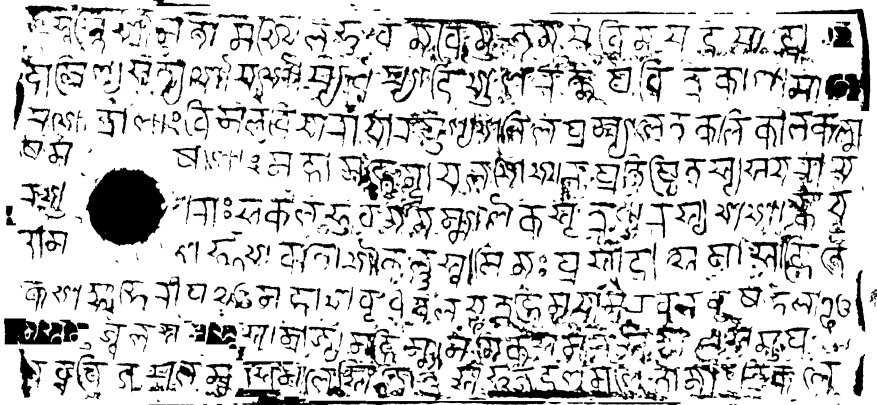
6. *Bhārati*, Vol. II, part 2, pp. 138—155.

7. J. A. H. R.S. Vol. II, pp. 146-164,

(1) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA V.

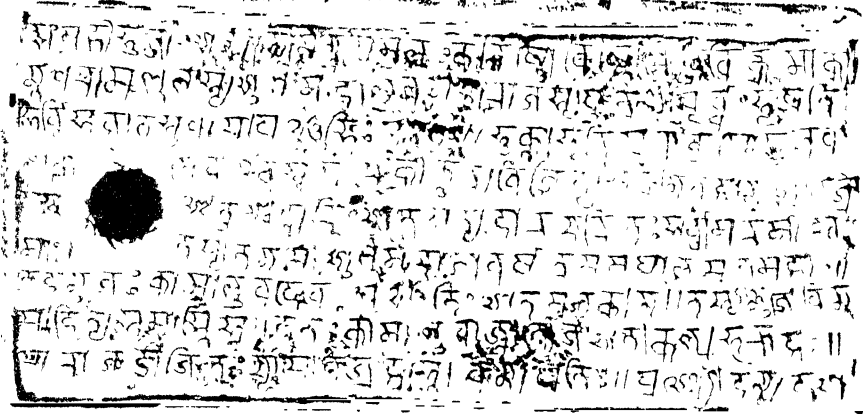
(C. P. No. 3 of 1918-1919.)

Plate 1 (Second face.)



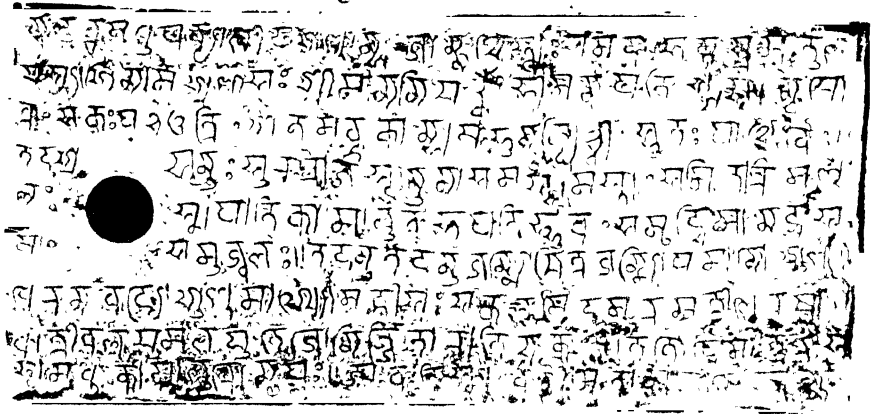
1. Ōm Svasti Śrīmatām-akhilā-bhuvana-vinuta-naya vinaya-dayā-dāna-
2. dākṣiṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-
ātrē
3. -ya-gōtrāṇām vimala-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-śalila1-prakshālita-Kali-kāla-
kalma
4. -sha-mashīnām mahā-Mahēndrāchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sacharācha
5. -ra-gurōḥ sakala2-bhuvana-nirmmaṇaika-sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka-chū-
6. -ḍāmaṇēr-bbhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa-svāminah prasādāt-samāsāditai-
7. -ka-śankha-bhērī-pañcha-mahā-śabda-dhavaḷa-cchatra-hēma-chāmara-
vara-vṛshabha-lañcha-
8. -na-samujvala-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-saṁghatta-
samupa
9. -labdha-Vijaya-Lakshmī-samālingit-ōttunga-bhujadaṇḍa-maṇḍitānām
Trikali

Plate II (First face.)



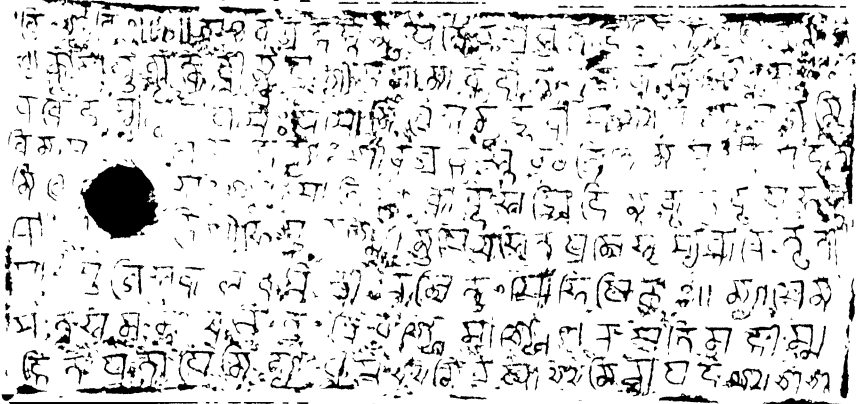
1. ṅga-mahībhujāṃ Gaṅgānām-anvayam-alamkarishṇōr-Vishṇōr-iva-vikram-ākṛā-
2. -nta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇamahārṇṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ pūrvvaṃ bhūpati [bhuja-ba
3. -bhir-vibhajya vasudhāyā pañchabhiḥpañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramo
4. lāt-tām-ēka-ēva svayaṃ ēkīkṛtya vijitya satruḥ nivahān Śrī-Vajra-
5. hastas chatuśchatvāriṃśatam-aty-udāra-charitaḥ sarvām arakshīt-sa
6. -māḥ tasya tanayō Guṇḍama rājā varsha-trayam-apālayata⁴ mahīm
7. tad-anujahKāmārṇṇava-dēvah pañcha-tim⁵śatamabdakāna⁶tasy-ārujōVina
8. yāditya samās-tisra tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj-jāō jaga-i-kalpa-bhūruhaḥ
9. yō rājad-rājitaḥ-cchāyō Vajrahast-ōvanīpatiḥ praśchyōdan-madaga-

Plate II (Second face.)



1. ndha-lubdha-madhupa-vyāhāḍha-gaṇḍān gaṇān-arthibhyaḥ samadāt-
sahasram-atulā
2. yas-tyāginām-agraṇī saḥ Śrīmān Aniyanka-Bhīma-nṛpatir Gaṇḍānvaṇyō
3. ttarṇsakāḥ pañcha-trimśatam-abdakān sam-abhūnak-priṭhviṁ stutaḥ
pāṇthivaiḥ
4. tad-agra-sūnuḥ sura-rāja- sūnunā samas-samaśtām samitṣ-āri- maṇḍa
5. laḥ ssa pāti Kāmārṇava bhūpatir-bhuvan samrddhimān arddha-sa
6. mām sam-ujvalaḥ tad-anu tad-anujanmō chittajanmōpamānō guṇa-ni
7. dhir-anavadyō Guṇḍamākhyō mahīsaḥ⁹ sakalamidamarakshat-trīpi-
varshāpi
8. dhātṛi-valayam-alaghu-tējō nirjit-ārāti-chakraḥ tatō dvai-māturasta
9. -sya Madhu-Kāmārṇavō nṛpaḥ avatism-āvanim-ētām-abdām-ēkāna¹⁰

Plate III (First face.)



1. -vimśatīm atha Vajrahasta-nṛpatir- agra-sutād-akhila-guṇi-janāgra-
2. nya Kāmārṇavāt kavindra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttiḥ Sriya i-
3. va Vaidumb ānaya-payāḥ-payōnidhi-sam-udbhavāpās-cha yaḥ sam-ajani
4. Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ Śrī Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ viyad-ṛtu-
5. nidhi-samākhyām yāti śākābda-sanghē Dina-kṛta Vṛshabha-sthē
6. Rōhinībhē su-lagnē Dhanushi cha Sita-pakṣhē Sūryya-vārē tṛti-
7. yām yuji sakala dharitīm rakshitum y-ōbhishiktaḥ nyāyēna
8. yatra samam-ācharitum tri-vargga-mārggēṇa rakshati mahīm-ma-
9. hīta-pratāpē nir-vyādhayas-cha nirayās-cha nir-āpadas-cha śāśva

Plate III (Second face.)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥

1. -prajā bhuvī bhavanti vibhūti-matyah vyāptē Gaṅga-kulōttamasyaya-
2. śasā dik-chakravālē śaśi-pradyōt-āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ pra-
3. hlāda-sarvādinā saindūrain-ati¹¹-pāndra-panka-pāṭalai kumbhasthālī-pē¹²
4. tṭakeśv¹³-ālimpanti punaḥ punaś-cha haritām-ādhōraṇā vā
5. raṇān anurāgēṇa guṇinō yasya vakṣhō- mukh-ābjayōh ¹⁴
6. rāśinē¹⁵ Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-anukūlē virājita Kaliṅga-naga-
7. rāt-Parama-māhēśvara¹⁶ Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Tri
8. Kaliṅg-ādhipati Śrīmad-Vajrahasta-Dēva kūśalī samast-āmātya-pra-
9. mukha-janapadān samāhūya sam-ājñāpayati viditam-astu bhavatā-

Plate IV (First face).

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 अथ श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥

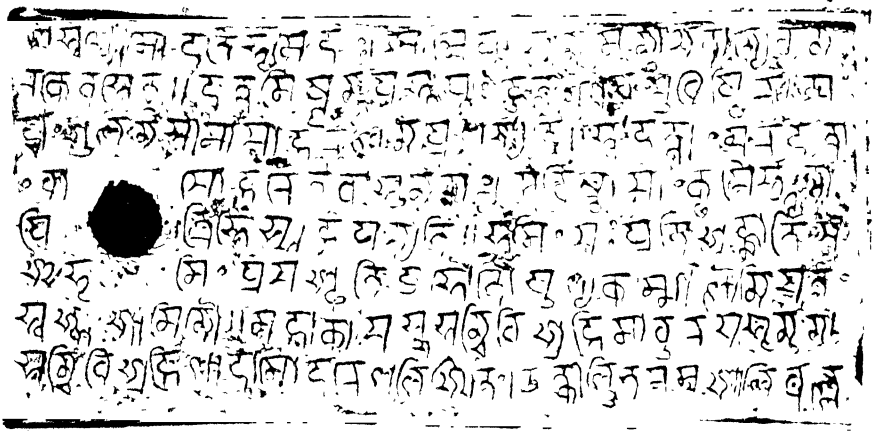
1. m Ērada-vishayē Sattivādām chatuḥ-sīmā¹⁷vachhinnam-saja-
2. la-sthalam sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjitam āchandrārka-kshiti-sama-kā-
3. lam yāvan-mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah-punya-yaśō-vṛddhayē a-
4. ja-girinidhi-śākābdē Karkkaṭaka-māsi Śukla-paksha-
5. Trajōdasyām-Ādityavārē Kañchidēśa-Valuta-
6. vūru-grāma-nivāsinaḥ Ganapaty-ākhyasya sūnuḥ Kūtāḍi-Nā-
7. yakah tasya bhāryyā Śrīdēvi tayoh samjjātāya Ganapa-
8. ti-Nāyakāya udaka-pūrvvam¹⁸ tāmbra-śāsanaḥ kṛtvā Sattivā-

Plate IV (Second face.)

मो वि दत्तमस्मभिरब्धविभिरब्धुमिपलैरमननो धर्म-
गौ-
रावत-परिपालनियम-ति तस्य-ावा ग्रामस्य शिम लिख्या-
न्ते पूर्ववस्यार्धे दिशि क्रोपलि-ग्राम-तातक-अन्तर-गता-बन्ध-ोपा-
रि तन्त्रिणी-वृक्षह इन्द्राग्नैययोर-मध्ये धानव-आकरा-वक्राम
आग्नैय्यार्धे दिशि तन्त्रिणी-वृक्षह दक्षिणस्यार्धे दिशि त्रिकु-
ट-आम्बरा-वृक्षह-वल्मीकौ नैरित्यार्धे दिशि त्रिकुट-वल्मीका-युगलम्
पश्चिमस्यार्धे दिशि तन्त्रिणी-वल्मीकौ वायव्यार्धे दिशि पश्चान्नाह
उत्तरस्यार्धे दिशि त्रिकुट-विशा-वृक्षह-समुहम् ईशान्यार्धे¹⁹ दिशि त्रि-
कुट-क्रोपलि-तातका-बन्ध-ोपारि तन्त्रिणी-वृक्षह शशङ्गि-वर्षा-

1. dām pra-dattam-asmābhir-bbhāvibhir-bbhūmipālairm-manunō dharma-
2. gau-
3. ravāt-paripālaniyam-iti tasya-aiva grāmasya śīmā likhya-
4. ntē pūrvvasyām diśi Krōppali-grāma-taṭāk-āntar-ggata-bandh-ōpa-
5. ri tintriṇī-vṛkshaḥ Indrāgnēyayōr-madhyē dhanv-ākāra-vakraḥ
6. Āgnēyyām diśi tintriṇī-vṛkshaḥ Dakṣiṇasyām diśi tri-kū-
7. ṭa -āmbra-vṛksha-vālmīkau Nairityām diśi trikuṭē vālmika-yugaḥ
8. Paśchimasyām diśi tintriṇī-vālmīkau vāyavyām diśi pāshāṇah
9. Uttarasyām diśi trikuṭē visha-vṛksha-samūhaḥ Īsānyām¹⁹ diśi tri-
9. kūtā Krōppali-taṭāka-bandh-ōpari tintriṇī-vṛkshaḥ shasṭi-varsha-
- sahasrā-

Plate V (First face.)



1. ni Svarggē mōdati bhūmidah ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tānyēva Na-
2. rakē vasēt dattam-ishṭan-tapas-taptam hutam ch-aiva Yudhishṭhira a-
3. rddhāngulēna sīmā yaharaṇēna praṇasyati sva-dattam para-dattā-
4. mīvā yō harēta vasundharām sa viśṭhāyām kṃmirbhūtā
5. pitri²⁰bhis-saha pachyati bhūmim yah pratigrhṇāti ya-
6. ścha bhūmim prayaśchati²¹ ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇau niyataṃ
7. svargga-gāminau Mahā-Kāyastha-Sandhivigrahi Māvuraya-sūnunā
8. Sandhivigrahi--śrī-Damōdarēna likhitaṃ utkṛitaṃ-Akshaśālī-Vallē-

Plate V (Second face)

1. Mōjunā iti.

(2) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF RĀJARĀJA I.

(C. P. No. 4 of 1918-1919.)

Plate I, (Second face.)

1. Ōm Svasti śrīmatām-akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinayadayā-dāna-
dākshanya-satya-śau- [vimala-vichār-ā]
2. cha śauryya-dhairyyādi guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām-Ātrēya-gōtrāṇām
3. -chāra-puṇya-śālīla-prakshālita-Kali-kāla kalmasha-mashīṇām mahā-
Mahēndrā- [nirmma]
4. chalā²-śikhara-pratiśṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvana-
5. -ṇaika-sūtradhārasya śasānka-chūdāmaṇēr-bbhagavatō Gōkarṇa-
svāminah [cchatra-hēma-
6. prasādāt-samāsādit-aika-śankha-bhērī-pavitra-mahā-śabda dhavala-
7. chāmara-vara-vṛshabhā-lāñchana-sam-ujjvala-samasta-sāmrajya-mahimnā
8. m-anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-sam-upa-labdha Vijaya-Lakshmi-samālingitō

Plate II, (First face.)

1. tuṅga-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Tri-Kaliṅga-mahābhujām Gaṅgānām-anvayam-a
2. laṅkarishṇōr-Vishṇōr-iva vikram-ākṛānta-dharāmaṇḍalasya Guṇamāhā-3
rṇṇava-māhā-
3. rājasya putraḥ pūrvvaṁ bhūpatibhir-vibhajya vasudhāyā pañchabhiḥ
pañchadhā
4. bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhuja-balāt-tām-ēka ēva svayaṁ ēkī-kṛtya viji
5. tyasātru-nivahān Śrī-Vajrahastāś-chatuśchatvāriṁśatam-aty-udāra-
6. charitaḥ sarvvām-arakshīt-samāḥ tasya tanayō Guṇḍama-rājā varsha-
trayam-apā
7. layad⁴-mahīm tad-anujah Kāmārṇṇava-dēvaḥ pañcha-trimśatam-abda-
kān tasy-ā
8. nujō Vinayādityas-samās-tisraḥ tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj-jātō jagatī-

Plate II, (Second face).

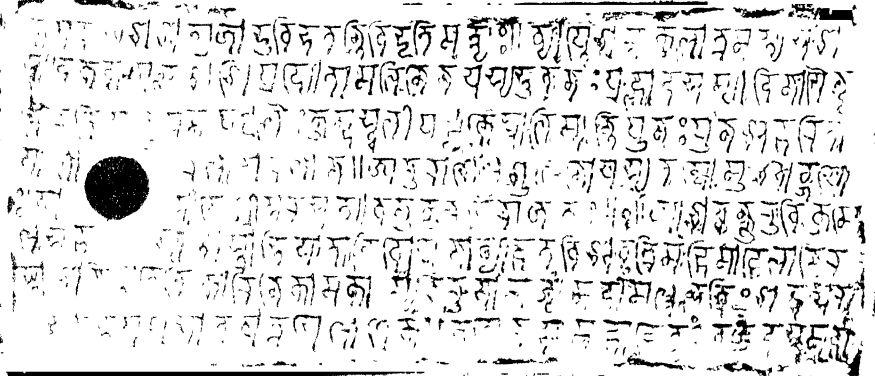
1. kalpa-bhūruhaḥ yō rājad-rājītac-chāyō Vajrahast-ōvanīpatiḥ praśchōda-
2. n-mada-gandha-lubdha-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān gajānn-artthibhyas-
-sam-adāt sahasram-a
3. -tulō-yas-tyāginām-agraṇī-s-saḥ śrīman-Aniyaṅka-Bhīma nṛpatir-Gaṅ-
gānvayō
4. -ttaṁsakah pañcha trimśatam abdakān sam abhunak pṛīthvīm stutaḥ
pārtthivaiḥ
5. tad agra sūnuḥ surarāja sūnunā samas samast āstamit āri maṇḍa
6. laḥ ssa⁶ pāti Kāmārṇṇava bhūpatir bhuvam samṛdhimān arddha
samāḥ samujjvala
7. -ḥ tad anu tad anujanmō Chittajanmōpamānō guṇanidhir anavadyō
Guṇḍam ākhyō
8. mahīsaḥ⁷ sakalam idam arakshat trīṇi varshāṇi dhātṛi valayam alaghu
tējō

Plate III, (First face).

1. nirjīit ārāti chakraḥ tatō dvaimāturas tasya Madhu Kāmārṇṇavō nṛ
paḥ avatism ā
2. -vanīm ētām abdān ēkāṇna vimśatiḥ atha Vajrahasta nṛpatir agra
sutād akhila

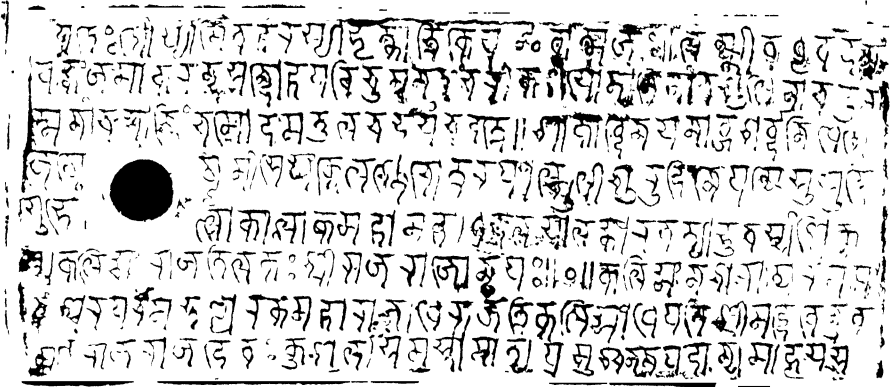
3. guṇi janāgra ganyah Ka⁸mārṇnavāt kavindra pragiyamān āvadāta subha.
kīrtitā Śrī
4. yaṣṭi iva Vaidumbānvaya payah payōnidhi sam udbhavāyās cha yaḥsam
ajani Vi
5. nāya mahā dēvyāḥ Śrī Vajrahasta iti tanayah Viyad ṛtu nidhi san
khām yāti
6. Śākābda saṅghē dina kṛti vṛshabhashthē Rōhiṇībhe sulagnē Dhanushi
cha sita pakshē Sūryya vārē
7. tṛtīyā yuji sakala dharitṛīm rakshitum yōbhishiktaḥ nyāyyēna yatra
samam āchari
8. tum tri vargē mārggēna rakshati mahīm mahita pratāpē nirv vyādha
yaś cha nirayās cha ni

Plate III, (Second face).



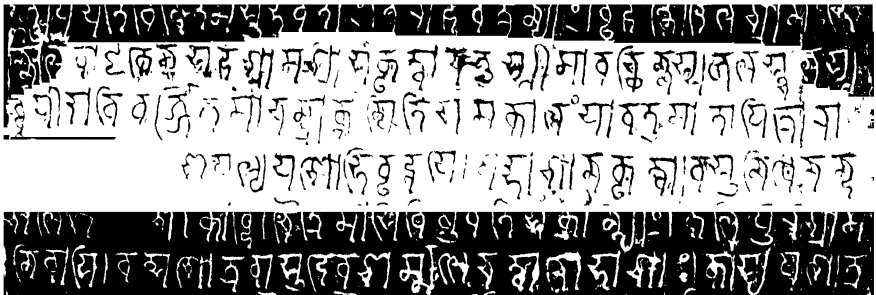
1. r āpadaś cha śāśvat prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūti mattyaḥ vyāptē
Gaṅga kulōttamasya yaśa
2. sā dik chakravālē śaśi pradhyōt āmalinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ prahlāda
samyādina saindū
3. rair āti sāndra pañka pātālāḥ kumbha sthālī pātākēshv ālimpanti
punaḥ punaś cha haritā
4. m ādhōraṇā vāraṇā⁹ anurāgēna guṇinō yasya vakshō mukh ābjayō
5. h āsinē Śrī Sarasvatyā vanukūlē virājataḥ āgacchann uru vikramē [nira
6. na sahasā śāstr ābhiyātād divō yēn āvyāhata viśva vṛtti mahīmāhōlā
7. st. 8. ānā. tēnē¹⁰ kārī nikāma. kāmya. tanunā rājyaḥ mahi-maṇḍalē
trīṇśad-vatsara [Vajrahasta-mahī-
8. m-abhra-subhṛa-yaśasā varsha-trayēṇ-ādhikam tat-Onaṅga-Mahādēvyāḥ

Plate IV (First face.)



1. patih Gauryyām iva Harasyābhūt Kārttikēya iv ātmajaḥ Lakshmī
vadhū vadana- [cha guṇinām cha durā-
2. pankaja-māka¹¹ randa sandōha parichumbana chañcharikāḥ yō māninām
3. tmanām'cha sāntimcha mōdam atula¹² cha bhayaṁ cha dattē śākābde
Nayanābja garbbha nidhigē
4. Jēsthēshtamī sē¹³jñakē lagnēchōttaraPhālguṇīGurudinē pakshēsu subhē
5. subhē lōkālōka mahā mahīdhra valayālankāravatyā bhuvas saṁśikta¹⁴
6. ssa Kaliṅga rāja tilakaḥ Śrī Rājarājō nṛpaḥ Kaliṅga nagarāt ParamaMā
7. hēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Tri Kaliṅgādhipatē¹⁵Śrīmad
Dēvēndra Va- [māhūya sa-¹⁶
8. rmmā Rājarāja Dēvaḥ kuśalī samast āmātya pramukha janapadānsa

Plate IV (Second face.)



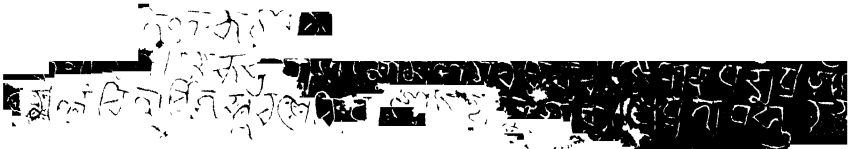
11. Read maka 12. „ lam 13. „ sam 14. „ sikta 15 „ śśrī 16 „ samā

1. jñāpayati viditam astu bhavatām Varāhavarttanyām Bṛhatkōḍilagrāmāḥ
bhi-
2. nnāla vāṭṭakēna saha grāma grāsām kṛtvā chatus sīmāvacchinnassajala
sthalas sa-
3. rvva pīḍā vjvarjjitam āchandr ārka sthiti sama kālaḥ yāvat mātāpitrōr ā
4. tmanāścha puṇyayaśōbhivṛddhayē shaḍbhāgān kṛtvā Vasu Nidhi Nanda
5. gaṇitē Śākābdē Chaitrē māsi Vishuvati Saṁkrāntyām Kalipura Grāma
6. *nivāsi Vatsa gōtra Vāsudēva Śarmaṇē chatvārō bhāgāḥ Kāsyapa gōtra
7. Nārāyaṇa Śarmanāḥ dvau bhāgau cha asmābhiḥ pra dattā iti.

(3) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF MADHU-
KĀMĀRṆṆAVA DĒVA.

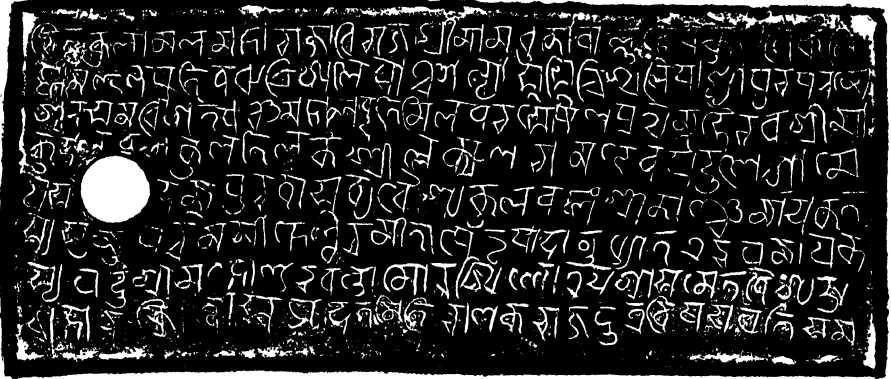
(C. P. No. 5 of 1918—1919.)

Plate I, (Second face)



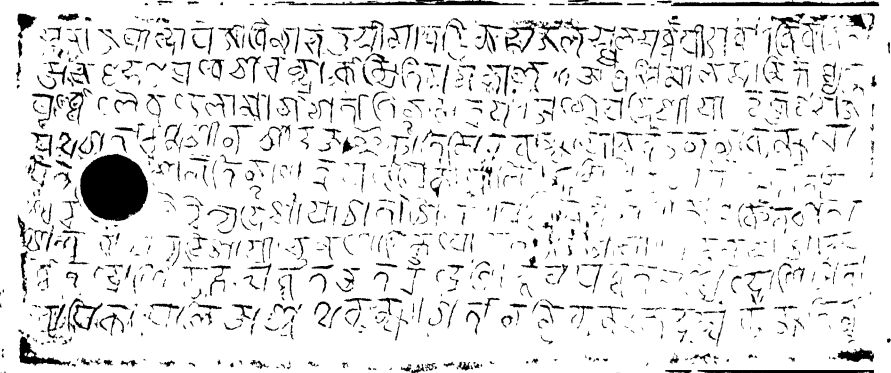
1. Ōm Svasti Amara pura¹nukāriṇa sarvvata² sukha ramaṇīyā³ vijayava-
tō Kaliṅga na
2. gara vāsakāt prasidha⁴ sidha⁴ tāpasādhyāsita kandar ōdara darī Mahē-
ndrāchalāmala ka
3. naka giri śikhara pratishṭhitasya charāchara gurō sakala⁵ bhuvana
nirmāṇaika
4. sūtradhāra sa⁶śāṅka chūḍāmaṇērbbhagavatōGōkarṇṇasvāmīnaścharaṇaka
5. mala yugala praṇāmād apagata sakali⁷ kalankō Gaṅgāma
6. la kula tilaka Śrīmā⁸ Anantabrahma Dēvaḥ tasya putrō vipula
7. vikram ānat ānēka bhūpāla mau⁹ maṇi marichi ka rañjī pāda padma
yugaḷa
8. vimala chittār chitas taraṇē iv āśēshō daṅgmukha dhyāyi pratāpa
sura¹⁰ sa

Plate II. (First face).



- 1 rit kulāmala Mahārājādhirāja Śrī nā¹¹ Madhu Kāvārṇṇa Dēva¹² kuśa
li Kali
- 2 ṅga maṇḍala prati vadhā Trikhali prāñchātyāstasti chiñchali Pāṭṭyā
pura Paramē
- 3 śvara samadhigata Pañchamahāśabda timila paraśōshēṇa pratyanta
Bhairava Śrīmā¹³
- 4 Kuḍālavana kulatilaka Śrī lakṣhaṇa¹⁴ Rāma Dēva Paḍuṇē grāmē
- 5 yasa¹⁵ Dantapura vastavya Vaiśya kula Vañśa Śrī Mañcha Nāyaka ta
- 6 sya sūnu Parama Māhēśvara Mātā piṭṭ pad ānuḍhyāta Ērapa Nāyaka
- 7 sya Padūgrāma Hōṇḍaravaḍō Mōrakhinō trayagrā¹⁶ samēta Vaiśya a
- 8 grahāra kṛitvā¹⁷ sapradata¹⁸ miti Rāṇaka rāja putra vishayapati sama

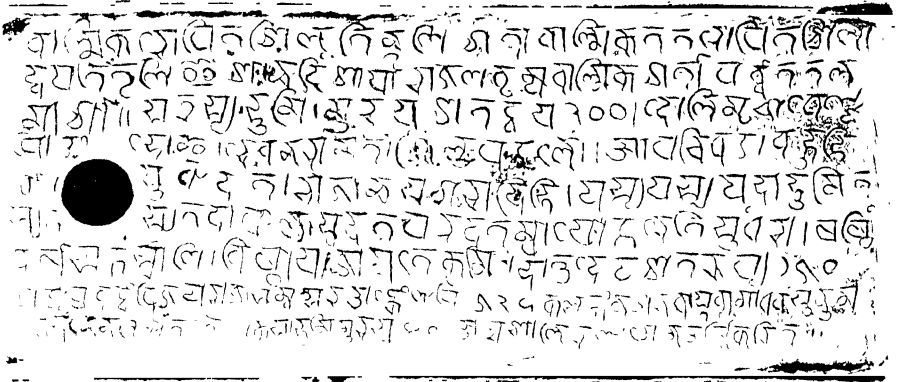
Plate II, (Second face).



11. Read śrīmān. 12. Kāmārṇṇavāḍevah 13. śrīmān 14. lakṣmaṇu 15. yasya
16. grāma 17. kṛtvā 18. sampradatta.

- 1 sta rāja pādōpa jīvinā chatusī¹⁹ māvacchinna sa jala sthala sarvvapīḍā.
bādha vivarjita²⁰
- 2 achata bhaṭa pravēśa²¹ chandr ārka kshiti sama kā la²² atha simā
liṅgāni kaddhyantē²³
3. Pūrvvēṇ aiva dēlā mārga gartā tintṛṇi trayam Agnēyadiśāyā tr²⁴ kuṭē rājā
4. patha gartāśmaśāna gāḍaḍaiṇccha timira vriksha²⁵ yēchivaḍa nandi-
vriksha²⁵ rō.
5. pita śila tintṛṇi traya vāpikāpāli Dakshinē diśāyā parvvatē si-
6. khara Nairitya²⁶ diśāyā gartā śila Paśchima diśāyā madhachina gartā
7. śilā Vāyavya diśāyā chunagōḍi kūpō Uttara diśāyā ṇubhulu bhāgāḍa pa
8. rvvata drōṇi br̥hat parvvata utara²⁷ drōṇi dvaya pavvata²⁸ madhyē drōṇi
gata²⁹
9. vāpikā pāli aśvattha vṛksha gartā nandi vṛksha kadamba vṛksha tintṛ³⁰

Plate III, (First face).



1. vālmika rōpita śila tintṛṇi gartā vālmika tata rōpita śilā-
2. dvaya tintṛṇi³¹ iśāna diśāyā rājāṇa vṛksha vālmika gartā parvvata tala-
3. mārgā satrasya bhūmi muraya śata dvaya 200 Dōlimṛgavēṇṭa
4. Pōḍā Bhōi Rēvaṇarāuta gōlupaṭalē āpachivaḍā bahubhi-
5. rvasudhā data³² rājāna Sagarādi bhi³³ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi ta
6. -sya tasya tadā phala³⁴ sva data³⁵ para datam³⁶ vā yōharēti³⁷ sudharā³⁸
shashthir
7. varsha sahasrāṇi viśthā yā³⁹ jāyatēkṛmih dātu dēḍa śata rupya 150
8. Gaṅga pravarddha vijayarājya samvatsāra aṅkēṇāpi 528 Kaliṅga nagara
vāstavya Mādhava sunu⁴⁰ Ma
9. dhusuda⁴¹ nēna likhita⁴² lēkhakasya bhumi⁴³ muraya 40 Akshaśāli
Raṇāmēna utikīrita.⁴⁴

- | | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 19. Read chatusi | 20. vivarjitah | 21. pravēśa | 22. kālāh |
| 23. kaddhyantē | 24. traya | 25. vṛksha | 26. Nairitya |
| 27. Uttara | 28. parvata | 29. gartā | 30. tintṛṇi |
| 31. tintṛṇi | 32. dattā | 33. bhūh | 34. phalam |
| 35. dattam | 36. dattam | 37. rēta | 38. vasumdharam |
| 39. yām | 40. sūnu | 41. sūda | 42. likhitam |
| 43. bhūmi | 44. utkīritam. | | |

(4) THE EASTERN GĀNGA COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA
CHŌḌA GANGA DĒVA.

(C. P. No. 6 of 1918-1919.)

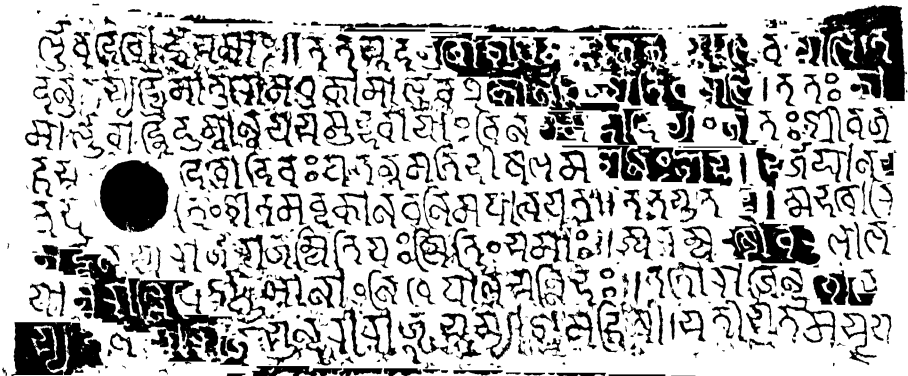
Plate I, (Second face).

- 1 Om Svasti śrīmatām akhilabhuvana vinuta naya vinaya dayā dāna
dākṣiṇya
- 2 satya śaucha śauryya dhairyyādiguṇaratna pavitrakāṇām Ātrēya gōtrā
- 3 ṇām vimala vichārāchāra puṇyasalila prakṣhālita Kalikāla kalmasha ma
- 4 shīṇām mahā Mahēndrāchala śikhara pratishṭhitasya sacharāchara gurō
- 5 ḥ sakalabhuvana nirmmāṇaika sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka chūḍāmaṇērbbha
- 6 gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminah prasādāt samāsāditaika śankha bhērī pa
- 7 ṇchamahāśabda dhavaḷacchatra hēmachāmara varavṛshabhalāṇchana samu
- 8 jvala samasta sāmrajya mahimnāmanēka samara saṅghaṭṭa samupalabdha

Plate II, (First face).

- 1 Vijaya Lakshmī samālingitōttunga bhujada ṇḍa maṇḍitānām Tri
Kaliṅga mahībhu [maṇḍalasya
- 2 jām Gaṅgānāmanvayamalankarishṇō Viṣṇōriṇa vikramaḥkrānta dharā
- 3 Guṇa Māhārṇṇava² Mahārājasya putraḥ Śrī Vajrahasta Dēva śchatu
schatvārīm
- 4 śatamabdakān kṣhitimarakṣhīt tat tanayō Guṇḍmarājā varshatraya
- 5 mapālayat tadanu tadanujah Kāmārṇṇava Dēvaḥ pañchatrimśa
- 6 dvarshāṇi tasyānujō Vinayādityah samāstisrah tataḥ Kāmārṇṇa
- 7 va tanayō Vajrahastō yō madagaḷita gaṇḍāṅgaḥ sahasramarṭṭhibhyah
- 8 samadātsa pañchatrim śatamabdakān tatastadagrasūnuḥ Kāmā

Plate II, (Second face).



1. Read *Vikramā* 2. ,, *Mahārṇṇava*.

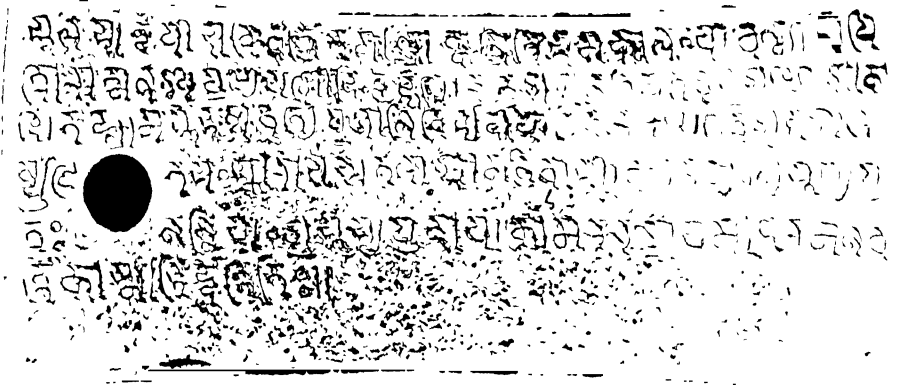
- 1 rṇṇava Dēvōrddha samāḥ tatastadanuḥo Guṇḍamahīpatī strīṇi varshāṇi ta
2 danu tasya dvaimāturō Madhu Kāmārṇṇava ēkōṇa vimśati varshāṇi
tataḥ Kā [Śrī Vajra
3 mārṇṇavād Vaidumbānvaya sumudbhavāyām Vinayamahādēvyām jātaḥ
4 hasta Dēvō divaḥ patantam atibhīṣaṇamaśanīm śastyābhīrjaghānasa
5 traya trimśata maddakānavani mapālayat tata sutasyātmabhavōri
6 marḍḍanassa Rājarāja kṣhitipaḥ kṣhitīm samāḥ arakṣhadasṭau Varuṇāla
7 yāmarān nidhīrṇuṇānām Nidhipāla sannibhaḥ tatō Rājēndrachōḷa
8 sya tanayā Rājasundarī rājānastasyāgra mahīṣī satī sutamasūya

Plate III. (First face.)

[illegible]

- 1 Śākābdē Nandarandhragraha gaṇa gaṇitē Kumbha samsthē Dinēsē³
 2 śuklē pakshē
 3 tritīyā yuji Ravija dinē Rēvatībhē Nṛyugmē lagnē Gaṅgānvavāyāmbu
 4 ja vana dinakṛdivisva⁴ visvaśmbarāyā śchakraṁ samrakshitum sadguṇa
 5 nidhiradhipa śchōḍagaṅgōbbhishiktaḥ Kaliṅga nagarāt Para
 6 ma Māhēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Trikalīṅgādhi
 7 patiḥ Śrīmad Anantavarminā Chōḍagaṅga Dēva kuśalī samastāmātya
 8 pramu
 9 kha janapadān samābhūya samājñāpayati viditamastu bhavatām Rūpāya
 10 rtani viśhaye Sēlladākhyagrāmah chātussīmāva cchannaś sajala

Plate III, (Second face.)

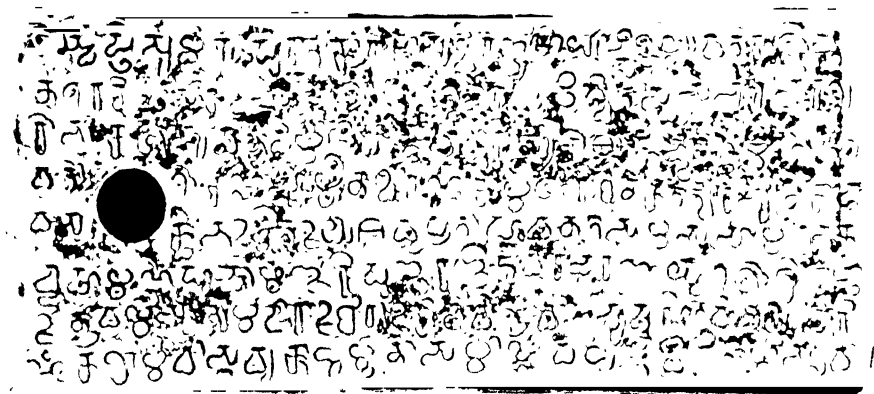


- 1 sthaia7 sarvvapiglāvivarjitamāchandrārkaḥkshitisamakalaṁ yavanmatā pi
- 2 trōrātmanaścha puṇya yaśōbhivṛddhayē Rūtu Gagana Viyat Chandra
- 3 gaṇitē Śākābdē tadgrāmaṣṭhaBhaḡavatyaḡai pūjā naivēdya dipādi karaṇāya
- 4 Dēvaḡgraha gana kṛ
- 5 shvudita samsthārāya Chātālāgrāna nivāśi Vallanapāṁgustasya pu
- 6 traḡ Nannipāṁgustasya putrāya Kōmarachandrāya mādara manava
- 7 rtti kāmābhirdattēti.⁹

(5) THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF DĒVĒNDRAVARMA.

(C. P. No. 7 of 1918—1919).

Plate I, (Second face)



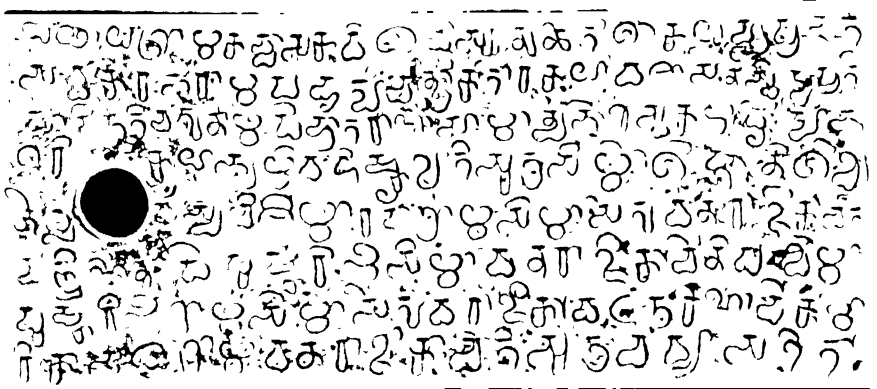
7. Read *sthalam*

8. „ *ērā*

9. „ *ṛti.*

- 1 Om Svasti Amarapurānukāriṇa sukha ramanīyādvijayavata Kālīṅga
- 2 nagara¹ dhivāsaka mahēndrāchalāmala śikhara pratishṭhitasya sa charā-
chara gu
- 3 rō sakala^{1-a} bhuvana nirmmāṇaika sūtradhārasya Śaśāṅka chūḍā manēr²
bhaga
- 4 vatō Gōkarṇṇasvāmīnaśchraṇa kamalārādhanaika tatparasyānēkāḥ
- 5 va saṁkshōbha janita jayaśabda pratāpāvanata samasta sāmanta chakra
- 6 chūḍāmanēprabhāmanjari punja ranjita vara charaṇa yugaḷō Śrī Māhā
- 7 rjanuvarma sūnu Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Dēvēndravarmā Pushkariṇī
vishayē Viri
- 8 nika grāmavāstavya kuṭumbinā³ samājñāpayati viditamastu vō

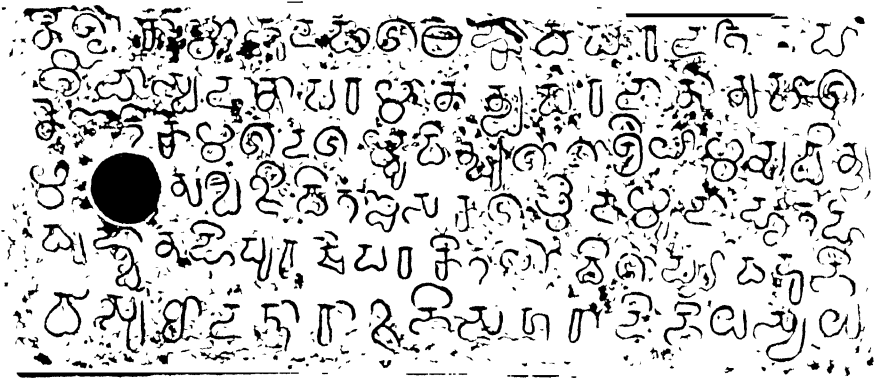
Plate II, (Frs: face).



- 1 Yathāya grāmaka⁴vvāsaka Vilachisūnu Hētilōkayaddyā pradatta⁵
- 2 sarvva kara bharāmapahṛtya⁶ chandrārka tāra ka yāva⁷ sāsana sthitya
prati
- 3 pādītē ti chatunāmapi hrā⁸tarāṇā sāmānyā bhāri svakamadhrityā⁹bha
- 4 garikayā bhūmi bahishkrityati atra sīmālīṅgāni likhya
- 5 ntē pūrvasya diśi Māradāgrāmasīmā sētuvanarājikā chē ti
- 6 dakshīṇēnāpi Pushkariṇī sīmā vanarājikā chēti paśchimēṇa
- 7 Pushkariṇī grāma sīmā sētuva¹⁰rājikā cha utarēnāpi Kumā
- 8 rikābhata grāma vanarājikā chēti atra cha Vyāsagīta

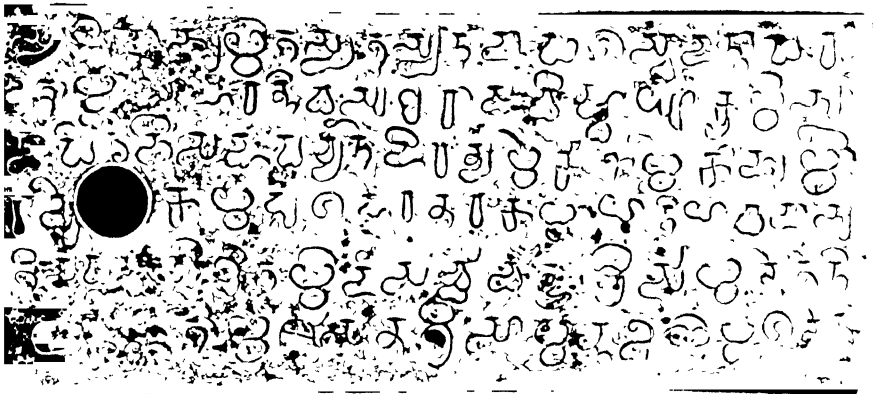
1. Read *Nagara* 1-a „ *ssakala* 2. „ *manēr* 3. „ *nām.*
4. *vāsaka* 5. „ *pradatta* 6. „ *tyā* 7. „ *yāvāt*
8 „ *hrta* 9. „ *mudṛtyā* 10. „ *vana.*

Plate II, (Second face).



- 1 ni ślōkā mābhūda phalaśaṅkava^{10(a)}paradatēti pā
- 2 rthivā svadānām paramānantya^{10(b)}paradānānu pāla
- 3 nē iti kamaladaḷambu bindulōlā śrīyām anuchintya
- 4 manuśya¹¹jīvitāṇcha sakala mida mudāhṛtaṁ hi
- 5 buddhvā na hi purushai parakīrtayē vilōpyā bahubhi
- 6 rvasudhā dattā rāja bhi¹²sagarādi bhi¹³yasya ya

Plate III, (First face).



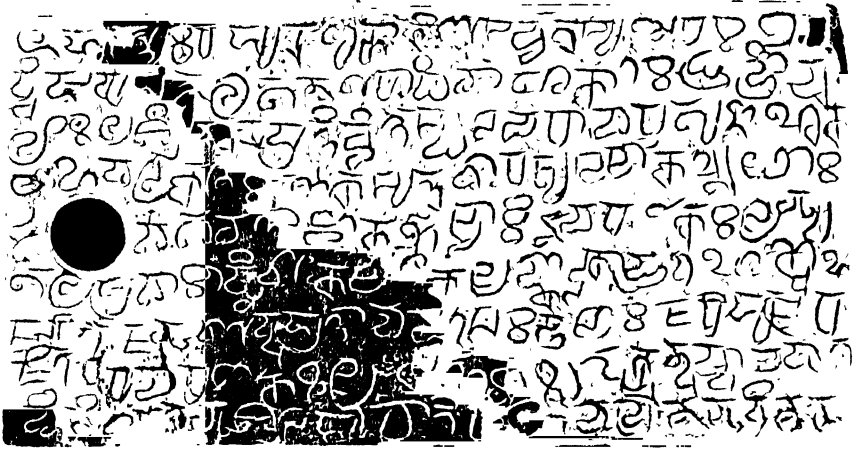
- 1 sya yadābhūmi tasya¹⁴tasya tadā phala¹⁵svadattā¹⁶para
- 2 dattāmivā yō haranti vasudharā¹⁷sa viśṭhā ya¹⁸kṛmi¹⁹bhū
- 3 tvā pītṛbhi²⁰saha pachyatē hiraṇyam²¹ēkaṁ gāmēkaṁ bhūmi
- 4 rapyēkamaṅgula²²harana²³rakamāyāti yāvadābhū
- 5 ti saṁplavaṁ likhita midam Sarvvachandra śrī sāmantēnēti
- 6 utkīrṇaṁ tāmraśāsaṇaṁ śrī sāmanta Viṇḍimalanēti.

- 10(a) Read *vaḥ* 10(b) „ *tyām* 11. *manuśhya* 12&13 „ *bhiḥ* 14. „ *stasya*
 15. „ *phalam* 16. „ *svadattām* 17. „ *vasumāharām* 18. „ *yām*
 19. „ *kṛmīr* 20. „ *bhiḥ* 21. *hiraṇyam* 22 „ *gulam* 23. „ *haranna*
 13-b

THE EASTERN GANGA COPPER-PLATES OF
ANANTAVARMADĒVA.

(C. P. No. 8 of 1918—1919.)

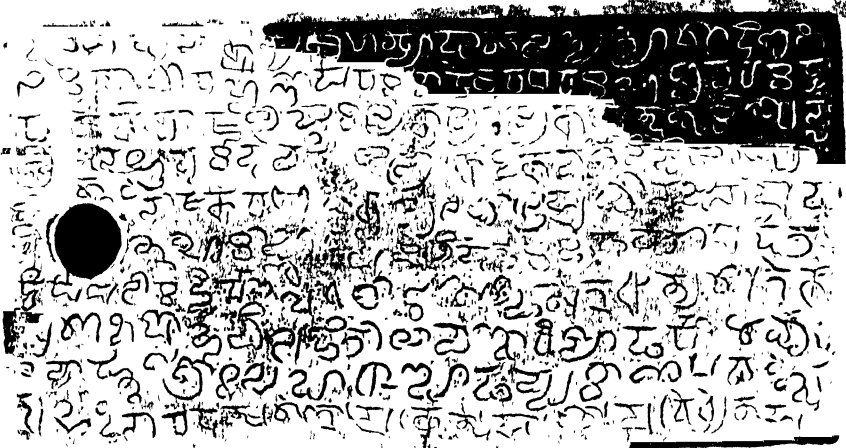
Plate I (Second face.)



- 1 Ōm SvastyAmarapurāṇu¹kāriṇā sarvvaṛtu sukharamaṇiyā
- 2 dvijayavat Kalirṅganagarādhi vāsakāt Mahēndrācha
- 3 lā mala śikharaprattishthittasya² sacharāchara gurōssaka
- 4 la bhuvanaika^{2(a)} nirmmaṇaika sūtradhārasya śasamka chūdāma
- 5 ṇēr Bhagavattō³ Gōkarṇṇa Svāmina⁴ charaṇakamala yu
- 6 gaḷa prabhāmā⁵ dviga⁶ kalikalaṅkō nnē⁷kāhava samkshōbha
- 7 janita jayaśavda⁸ Prattāpa⁹ nata samasta sā¹⁰ mamjarīpunja ra
- 8 njita varacharaṇa kamala sitta¹¹ kumuda kundēndvāvadāta
- 9 vinirgata yaśōdhvastārāti kulāchalō naya vinaya

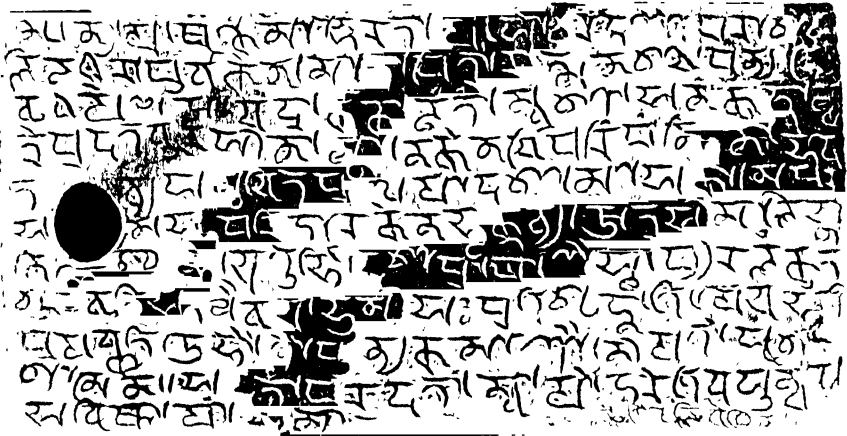
1 Read *purāṇu* 2 *pratishthitasya* 2(a) *bhuvana* 3 *vato*
4 *Svāminai* 5 *pranāmā* 6 *dvigata* 7 *nē* 8 *śabda* 9 *pratāpa*
10 *sāmanta chakrachādāmanērprabhā* 11 *sita*.

Plate II (First face).



- 1 dayā dāna kshinya¹² śauryaudārya satya tyāgādi guṇa
- 2 sampadādharabhūtō parama Māhēśvara parama Bhāgu paramattā¹³
- 3 Rājādhiraṇya Gaṅgāmalakula tilakah Dēndravarma¹⁴ sūnu
- 4 Śrī Anantavarma dēva kuśalī Karṇtakavarttani Vishaya Rā
- 5 shṭra kūṭa Nājekaraḍadākṛtyasa vāstavyā dīna Janā padā¹⁵
- 6 sarvva samājnāpayati viditamastu bhavatāṁ pradattaṁ
- 7 dvishashati maddhirpaṇa bhavatā māmaṇḍa | atra punya śatēka
- 8 rsha śaṇapodda chibhadritālachaṇvāri hīḍarōmavāha
- 9 chchādnagōtrōma bhabhārānvāḍadva māṇapa bhāṭṭarpi
- 10 ta | bhāṭṭa Nāradasagōtrāya | Kanvasākhāya¹⁶ | Vēḍyanasa

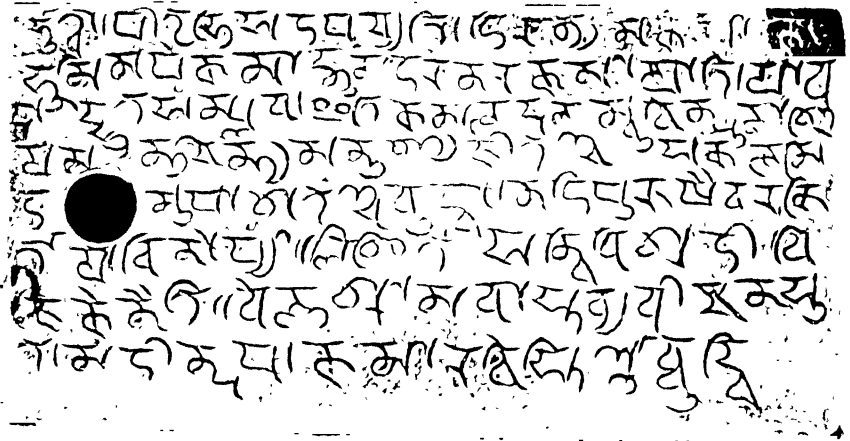
Plate II, (Second face).



- 12 Kead dākshinya 13 parama Bhāṭṭa 14 Devēndravarma
15 janāpada 16 Kanvasākhāya

- 1 mñāya shaṭkarmābhiratāya sō¹⁷grahaṇa parāga kā
 2 lēna dhārā pūrvakēna mātāpitṛrātmanaścha puṇyābhi
 3 vṛdhayē¹⁸ āchamdrārkakālām tāmraśāsanaṁ kṛtvā ddhā
 4 trē pradatā¹⁹ vūrasānāmnā nakēnachi pariparṁtināsarvē
 5 tadhyam samuchita prachayā daśamāsakā midā²⁰
 6 samasta parihārakēna bhōktavya | atra sīmā liṅgā
 7 ni likhyantē chatuṛbhidiśā prayāṇaisvādhyāralam kṛta
 8 gṛhavṛtistadhaiva chābhūmī yahaḥ parigrhṇāti ēchabhūmī
 9 prayachchati ubhautau puṇya karmāṇau nāyatau pāśa
 10 gāmina|| Svadatām²¹ paradattāmivā yōharēti²² vasundharā
 11 savishthāyam kṛmi

Plate III (First face).



- 1 rbhūtva | pitṛbhisaha pachyatē | Hiranyamakam²³ gāmēkām
 2 bhūmi mapyēka māṅgulaṁ haranaraka²⁴ māyāti | yāva
 3 dābhūta samplavaṁ | itikamaladalamvu²⁵ vindulāśrī²⁶
 4 yamanuchintya manuśya²⁷ jītaṇcha²⁸ sakala mi
 5 hamupāgataṁpchaāvudhvā²⁹ nahi purushai varakī
 6 rtaṇē vilōpyām | likhitaṁ Sandhivigrahi Vi
 7 njakēnaiti³⁰ | Vēlugrāma vāstavya Vinjanasu
 8 ta | Mahindapāka māra vishthīṇṇavvṛddhi³¹

17 Read soma 18 vṛddhaye 19 pradattam 20 midam 21 Svadattam-
 22 yoharetra 23 mēkam 24 haranaraka 25 dalambu 26 binaulāśrī
 27 manushya 28 jītiṇcha 29 budhvā 30 nēti 31 vṛddhi.

(4) THE COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMA
CHŌḌA GANGA DĒVA. (C. P. No. 6 of 1918-19)*

(a) *Description of the Plates.*

It is a set of 3 plates $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3''$ each, strung in a circular ring $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter whose ends are soldered into a seal $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The whole set weighs 120 Tolas. In the surface of the disc of the seal are found, countersunk, a couchant Bull facing left in the middle of it, a Sun, a Crescent and a Sun and a Lampstand at the top of it, an Ankuṣa or Elephant-goad in front of it and a Lotus-creeper below it. Except the first side of the first plate, all other sides contain writing. The plates are broader at the ends than in the middle and their rims are raised so as to protect the writing.

(b) *Alphabet and Language.*

The alphabet consists of clearly and nicely written Sanskrit characters of the 11th century. The language is in Sanskrit prose throughout. The contents of this record resemble those of C. P. No. 3 and C. P. No. 4 upto plate III, first face, excepting for omissions of qualifying attributes of kings. It is less free from mistakes than those two sets of plates. However, the use of s for ś as in Dinēsē and Visva (Vide footnotes 3, 4 and 5) and the shortening of the vowel where the long one should be used, as shown in footnotes 1 and 8, must be noted.

(c) *Subject-matter.*

It is the same as that found in C.P. No. 3 and C.P. No. 4 upto plate III, first face. At the end of plate II, second face, it is stated that Rāja Rāja ruled for 8 years and his eldest wife or Queen-consort was Rājasundari, the daughter of Rājēndrachōla.

Plate III, first face, records that in Ś. 999, denoted by Nandas (9) Apertures (9) and Planets (9) when the Sun was in the Kumbha (Aquarius), on Sunday, the third lunar day of the bright fortnight under the Rēvati star and during Nṛyugma (*Mithuna*) *lagna*, Chōḍagaṅga, who was the Sun to the Lotus-flower of the Gaṅga family and who was the Mine of several good qualities, was annointed king for protecting the Wheel of Earth. From Kalinganagara, the illustrious Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅga, the devout worshipper of God Mahēśvara, the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the great King of kings, the

* In this article, we have adopted the same numbers, found in the List of Copper-plates examined during 1918-19 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras and followed the same order in the publication of the texts of the several Plates as well as the body of the article. We find the same numbers being referred to often in the several articles published by scholars regarding this subject,

Lord of Tri-Kalinga, being in good health and having assembled all rural subjects headed by all the Ministers, commanded and informed them that the village of Sēḷada, lying in Rūpavartani District (Modern Tekkali Taluq) and enclosed within 4 limits and with all water rights,

Plate III, second face records-- was granted in perpetuity, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself, freed from all molestations, in the Śaka year 1006, denoted by Chandra or Moon (1), Viyat or Air (2), Gagana or Sky (3) and Rtu or Seasons (6), it being constituted as a *Dāvāgrahāra* for worship, offerings and lamps to the Goddess Bhagavati, of the same village, to Komarachandra, son of Nannipāṅgu and grandson of Vallanapāṅgu, a resident of the village of Chāḷala towards his *Mādara** maintenance.

Remarks.

These Plates resemble closely (except in the portions dealing with the gift of village and the details of donee) those of Kornī dated Ś. 1003 published in J. A. H. R. S. Vol. I, pp. 40-48.

The geneology and chronology given in these Plates resemble those given in them and in the Vizag Plates dated Śaka years 1003 and 1057 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII pp. 161-165 and 172-176 respectively) and in all the Plates of his father and grand-father published so far and differ from those given in this king's Kornī Plates dated Śaka 1034 (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. I, pp. 106-124) and Visag Plates dated Śaka 1040 (Ind. Ant. Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-172). The latter cannot therefore be believed to be correct and true. Vide for fuller discussion *Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, Nadagam Plates of Vajrahasta III* edited by Mr.G.V. Ramamurty Pantulu.

(5) THE COPPER-PLATES OF DĒVĒNDRAVARMA.

(C. P. No. 7 of 1918-19).

(a) *Description of the Plates.*

It is a set of 3 plates strung in a ring containing a seal. The whole set weighs 110½ tolas. The seal and the ring alone weigh 32½ tolas. The first and the last plates contain no writing on their first and second sides respectively which act as covers. Each plate measures 7¾" × 3¼" and contains writing in clear and bold old Telugu-kannada characters of the 9th century. The circular ring which holds the plates is 3¾" in diameter and the seal into which the two ends of the ring are soldered is 1½" in diameter. On the disc of the Seal is a *Bull* in a sitting posture facing left. The Bull has a hump and a garland of bells round its neck. To its left side is carved a *crescent* and below it a *fish*. To its right is an *ankuśa* (elephant-goat). The Bull is 1" high near its head which is raised and 1" long from the tip of the mouth to the tail. All the figures are very artistically carved out in bold relief.

*The meaning of this term "*Mādara* maintenance", is not clear. Such a term occurs also in the *Bodḍapaḍu Plates of Vajrahasta III* (Bharati, Vol. III, pp. 82-94). The Editor, Mr. M. S. Sarma opined that the term is the same as *Mādari*, a low caste-man engaged in making bamboo baskets. We cannot agree, however, with this opinion. We wonder whether an Emperor should endow a whole village for such low services such as supplying baskets and get plates inscribed to commemorate the great event !!

(b) *Alphabet and Language.*

The characters are old Telugu-kannada of the 9th century. The language is Sanskrit. The alphabet belongs to the old Kuṭila type. The scribe prepared the grant very carelessly as shown by the several omissions of letters and words (Vide footnotes for corrections). These plates resemble those of Rājēndravarma's son, Dēvēndravarma of G. E. 310 published in Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, pp. 311—313. Another set, not dated, was published in Ep. Car. Bangalore Vol. as Insc. No. 140. They were both engraved by Khaṇḍimala who also engraved these plates. The name of the king's father happens to be Rājēndravarma as in these plates also* and so we identify this king with the one whose plates are dated G. E. 310. The grant, dated 310 G. E., was written by *Sarva chandra* like the present one and so, we hold that, though these plates contain no date, they also belong to the same time (310 G. E. = 806 A. D.) The identity in the names of the king's father, the scribe and the engraver as well as the style of the inscriptions would all support this view.

(c) *Subject-matter.*

Plate I, second face and Plate II, first face state that, from Kalinga-Nagara, which resembles Amarapura, the King Dēvēndravarma, who was a devout worshipper of Gōkarṇaswāmi residing on Mt. Mahēndra, who was styled the great King of kings and who was the son of the illustrious Rājēndravarma, commanded and informed the families of the village of Viriṇika in the District of Pushkaraṇi thus: — "I have granted the village in perpetuity, free from all taxes and molestations, to Hētilōka, son of Vilachi, a resident of the same village." The boundaries of the gift are then described. The villages of Mārada, Pushkaraṇi and Kumārikābhata are mentioned. Pushkaraṇi is identified by some scholars with Śrīkūrmam.

Plate II, second face and plate III, first face, (first 4 lines) give the usual imprecatory verses (*Vyāsa śloka*s). They are five in number. The last two lines of the inscription state that it was written by the vassal Sarvachandra and engraved by the vassal Khaṇḍimala.

(6) THE COPPER-PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADĒVA

(C. P. No. 8 of 1918—19)

(a) *Description of the Plates*

It is a set of 3 plates weighing 72 tolas along with ring and seal also. The 3 plates are 6" × 3" each. The first and the third plates do not contain any writing on their first and second sides which are blank and which therefore serve as covers to the record. The ring which is circular is 3½" in diameter and the seal 1½". The Seal contains in its disc a *crescent* at top and a *standing bull* facing right below it.

* We regret that in the Texts (which were printed beforehand) two mis-readings have appeared on pages 186 and 187. Please read "S'rīmān Rājēndra" for S'rī Mahārjanu, (lines 6 and 7 above the block on p. 186) and "Khaṇḍi" for Vindi, at the end of the 6th line in plate III (first face).

(b) *Alphabet and Language.*

The *lipi* is old Telugu-kannada and the letters are of *Kuṭila* type and belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. There are several Prākṛitisms and the use of different forms for the same letter is a special peculiarity. The scribe has done his work very carelessly (Vide footnote No. 10 which is typical). The adoption of *v* for *b* and *ś* for *s* and vice versa shows the local usages of the times. The *Bindu* in several places is wrongly omitted (Vide footnotes 19, 20 and 21 for corrections.)

(c) *Subject-matter.*

Plate I, (second face), gives the usual description of the Dynasty found in the C. P. No. 7 noted above.

Plate II, (first face), states that king Anantavarmadēva, the son of Dēvēndravarmadēva who was the Crest-jewel of Gaṅga family, who was King of kings, who was the devout Bhaṭṭāraka, the devout Bhāga-vata and the devout worshipper of God Īśvara, being in good health, assembled and commanded the country subjects of the village of Nāje-karaḍa and the Rāshṭrakūta chiefs of the district of Kaṁṭakavartani thus:— "I have granted the village, free from all taxes, to Mānapa Bhaṭṭa who belonged to Bhaṭṭa Nārada *gōtra* and Kaṇva *śākha* and who was well-versed in Vēdas and the six *Karmas*."

Plate II, (second face), states that, on the occasion of a Lunar eclipse, for the merit of himself and his parents, the gift of the village was made in perpetuity. The boundaries of the grant are then given.

Plate III, (first face) gives the usual *Vyāsa śloka*s and states that the Copper-plates were composed by *Santhivigrāhi* Vinja and executed by Mahinda, son of Vinja, a resident of the village of Vēlu.

(d) *Remarks.*

Dēvēndravarma, the father of the Donor-king Anantavarma, may be identified with the one mentioned in C. P. No. 7 above, for the following three reasons:—

- 1 The plates of both these Kings were found together.
- 2 Both resemble each other in alphabet, language and style
- 3 Both begin in the same way and both are undated.

If this identification cannot hold good, then this King Anantavarma may be identified with the one of G. E. 204. (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 271—274).

It is interesting to learn from all these Plates about some of the official titles of the times. Thus, a *Rāyaka* was a military Governor of a Province. A *Rājaputra* or prince of royal blood occupied a minister's position. A *Vishayapati* was head of a District. A *Rājapādopajivina* was a royal dependent in charge of civil duties. An *Achaṭa* was an irregular soldier resembling a C. I. D. Officer. A *Bhaṭa* was a regular soldier, who was a member of the army. A *Rauta* was a cavalry officer. A *Lekhaka* was a clerk in charge of composing official documents. An *Akshasālī* was an inscriber of records. A *Nāyaka* was a captain of a small military force. A *Mahākāyastha* was an Alderman. A *Santhivigrāhi* was Secretary for peace and war. An *Amātya* was a Minister. A *Sāmanta* was a vassal. A *Jānupada* was a rural corporation.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF PUDUR*

M. RAMA RAO, M. A., B. Ed.

Of the many places of antiquarian interest that H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions abound in, Pūdūr is perhaps the most curious. It is an unknown little village in the Gadwāl Samsthan on the Secunderabad-Dronachalam railway. The sculptures and epigraphs of this place reveal a very remarkable and interesting aspect of the religious history of the Andhra country. It is the object of this paper to explain this aspect and point out the importance of the antiquities of Pūdūr.

There are three localities of interest in this place--the Kēśava-swāmi temple, the shrine known as the Mallikārjuna guḍi and most important of all, the temple of Virabhadra. The Kēśava temple is situated in a small compound towards the North-Eastern end of the village and looks comparatively recent. It consists of a rectangular pillared hall and the main shrine behind it. One notable feature is that this temple has no *Sikhara* at the top but has instead a low parapet wall around. The deity in this temple is mentioned frequently in the Telugu literature of the 15th and 16th centuries, produced under the patronage of the rulers of Gadwal. About two furlongs to the North of this temple is a low mud-wall about 8 feet thick, encircling the village and the railway station. A little farther is a small shrine known as Mallikārjuna guḍi. The most important of the antiquities of this shrine are a number of broken sculptures laid against a wall to the right side of the guḍi. Among them are to be found the idols of a female and a male deity, a Jina sitting in the *dhyāna* posture with a seven-hooded cobra above his head, a broken Jina figure exquisitely carved and a third Jina image without the cobra-hood above the head. There are besides, the images of *dwārapālakas* and *Nāgis* in plenty. About two or three furlongs away from this place is the Virabhadra temple which is the centre of our interest at Pūdūr. The temple consists of an entrance porch, a small pillared hall and the main shrine behind it. Above this structure is a stepped conical *sikhara* with an inverted *kalaśa* at the top. The main shrine contains a *Śivalinga* while to the Southern wall of the hall is set up an image of Virabhadra. To the North of this temple is a small shrine containing a slab on which is carved in relief a figure with folded hands and the tail curving above the head, resembling the figure of Hanuman. Parallel to these structures and to the further North

*Paper read before the Indian Oriental Conference, Baroda, December 1933.

1. The *Yathā-sloka tātparya rāmāyana*

is a choultry of recent construction, with a Northern wing. A mud-wall recently built starts before the entrance to the Virabhadra temple and joins the Eastern wall of the choultry. This wall and the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry are important from the sculptural point of view. Being recent erections they contain a number of beautifully sculptured slabs and beams. Below is a list of some of the important slabs built into the former.

- 1 Four figures of *Nāgis* each with a sword and a shield in the hand.
- 2 A man and a woman on horseback below a seated Jina figure with a woman holding *chamara* on either side.
- 3 Two men on horseback one piercing the other.
- 4 A seated Jina with two warriors fighting with swords below.
- 5 Many slabs with single and many-hooded cobras.

On the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry are found the following sculptures—

- 1 The cross-beam of a doorway with *Gajalakshmi* in the centre.
- 2 Another beam containing Śiva in the dancing posture.
- 3 A pillar on which are carved in relief the scenes of Rama and Sita going to the forest and Rama cutting the nose of *Sūrpaṇakha*.
- 4 A peculiar slab containing a Jina with *chamara*-bearers on either side and a Linga on a pedestal in the first row; a horseman below the Jina fighting with a sword and an infantry man piercing the former's horse with a spear, in the second row; a man in the falling posture and below him a dead body, both in the centre of the slab below the second row.

Besides the temples and sculptures described above, Pūdūr contains no less than six inscriptions which belong to three successive centuries, and throw much light on the religious history of this part of the country during early medieval times.

I am giving below summaries of the inscriptions found at this place...

- 1 On a slab by the road side near the Mallikārjuna guḍi, a canarese inscription dated 12th year of the Chalukyavikrama era, records that in the time of Tribhuvanamalla his subordinate Pūndūra Hallakarasa made several gifts of land in and round Pūdūr to his *guru* Kanakasēna-bhāṭṭāraka of the Pallavajinālaya, which belonged to the *Draviḷa samgha*. The last five lines of the first side of the inscription contain the following sanskrit verse which gives the key for the interpretation of the sculptures.

स्वस्तिश्री जगती तल्लैकतिलके श्रीपुंडूसंज्ञे पुरे
श्रीमत्पल्लवराज स्वर्गजलतो दुर्गे यशस्सोदरे
चूतारामसुगन्धशाळिवनके संतिष्ठते सद्गुरुः
श्रीमत्काञ्चनसेन पंडित पतिर्विख्यात कीर्त्तिप्रियः ॥

2 A canarese fragment on a broken slab in the road very near the above which mentions Mahamandalesvara Rajaśēkhara, a Telugu Chola chief with the usual dynastic titles. This record is dated in the Chālukya vikrama era though the actual figure is lost.

3 In the Kēśavasvami temple a worn out record of a chieftain who calls himself "Kandūr-pura-varā-dhīśvara".

4 On the cross-beam bearing Gajalakshmi, carved in the upper and lower margins are the following two lines—

"Śrī Pōravaṇa gāvūṇḍa māḍisida"

"Svasti Śaka-varisa Entana...nālvattentaneyā Sarvajit-saṁvatsara pravattise"

5 On a pillar in the interior of the Northern wing of the choultry and half built into the wall is a Telugu record on which the words शक्रवरुष, प्रजापतिसंवत्सर, जगदाळ and ईश्वरप्रतिष्ठ are prominent.

6 Towards the Southern end of the village on a slab near the Hanuman shrine, is a long canarese inscription dated Chālukya Vikrama Era 13 which registers a gift of Pūndūra Hallakarasa.

These inscriptions reveals many interesting facts. The sanskrit verse tells us that the ancient name of Pūdūr was Punḍrapura and that it had a fortress. Evidently the low mud wall to the North of the Kēśava temple to which we have already referred formed part of the ancient fortress of Pūdūr. At the beginning of inscription No. 1 there is a figure of a Jina sitting in *dhyaṇa* posture. The inscription records a gift to the Pallavajinālaya whose prosperity is hailed in the first two lines thereof. The second and third sides of the record are descriptions of the temple which the sanskrit verse tells us, was situated in a beautiful mango grove. Pūdūr seems to have been ruled over by Hallakarasa in the last quarter of the 12th century. Later on probably the Telugu cholas held this place as inscription no. 2 above indicates. The letters in inscription No. 5 are distinctly Telugu characters of the early 13th century and resemble those of the Kakatiya inscriptions. The occurrence of the word "Jagadāḷa" and the mention of the erection of a Śiva temple in the visible part of this record afford the clue for determining the date of this inscription. Jagadāḷa a subordinate of Kakatiya Ganapati-dēva appears in the Pākhāl inscription.² Further the reign of that monarch also witnessed a strong Saivite reaction against the Jinas. Hence I would ascribe this inscription to Jagadāḷa a general of Ganapati-dēva and assign it to the cyclic year Prajāpati corresponding to 1211 A. D. This fragment indicates how Pūdūr became a part of the Kakatiya empire and a Saivite centre. Telugu literature of the 18th century

gives us the political history of Pūdūr in subsequent times. The "Yathā-ślōk-tātparya-Rāmāyaṇamu" dedicated to Rāja China Sōmabhūpāl of Gadwal mentions that about the middle of the 17th century a certain Virāreḍḍi was the ruler of Pūdūr and that his only daughter Bakkamma was married to Rāja Peda Sōmabhūpāl the Nāḍagaṇḍ of Ieeza.³ Later this chieftain founded the fortress of Gadwal and transferred his headquarters to it. Since then Pūdūr formed part of the Gadwal samasthan. Continued neglect reduced the fort and other fortifications into ruins. Only the mud-wall remains today as the pitiable survivor of the past glory of Pūdūr.

The antiquities of this place give us a glimpse into religious history. In the Andhra country as well as in the Karnatak both Jainism and Brahminism flourished without any hitch till the close of the 11th century. With the advent of Vīra Śaiva in the middle of the next century the situation changed. A strong movement of merciless persecution was started by the Vīra Śaivas against the Jainas. Telugu and Kanarese literatures of this period contain harrowing tales of the wholesale destruction of the Jainas, their books and temples.⁴ This wave of destruction swept the nooks and corners of the Western Chalukyan empire. The Jaina settlement at Pudur also seems to have suffered in this connection. But for the images of Virabhadra and the linga in the main shrine, the Virabhadra temple is a compact little Jaina shrine. Of the broken sculptures in the Mallikārjuna guḍi, the male and the female deity and the Jina figure with the cobra-hood above its head may be taken to constitute a triad representing Pārśvanātha and his attendant Yaksha and Yakshiṇi.⁵ I believe that the Virabhadra temple of today enshrined this triad besides a number of allied deities and went by the name of "Sri Pallava Jinālaya" in the 12th century as inscription No. 1 mentioned in this paper would indicate. It is likely that in the middle of the 13th century, when Pūdūr was conquered by the Kākatīyas, the champions of Saivism, set in the reaction against the local Jainas. Sculpture No. 4 on the exterior of the Western wall of the choultry is symbolic of this reaction. The representation of a Jina over one and of a Linga over another of the two fighters on this slab indicates that of these two warriors each championed one of the two rival faiths and fought out the issue. The result, as the presence of the Śaivite idols in what was originally a Jaina temple would indicate, was victory to the Śaivas. As a further consequence of the victory, the Saivas must have set up many temples here of their own type. Probably the cross-beam containing the image of Śiva in the dancing posture adorned one of the main temples of the Saivas. On questioning the old men of the place, I came to know that all the sculptured pieces in the Virabhadra temple were recovered from the ground while ploughing or sinking wells. It is likely therefore that the neighbourhood of the temple contains many temples and inscriptions in its bosom.

Thus Pudur and its antiquities are of very great interest to the archaeologist and the student of history. In the broken sculptures and the half-buried inscriptions of this place we find the echos of the general progress of the political and religious history of the Deccan.

3. See introduction pp. 2-4.

4. See for instance the "Basavapurāṇam"

5. I. A. for 1927, pp. 29-35.

NOTES OF THE QUARTERS.

At the meeting of the Managing Council held on 23-11-33, it was resolved to publish important minutes of the Managing Council meetings as decided by the Council from time to time.

The following are such resolutions passed since then:—

1 Resolved to depute Messrs. R. Subba Rao, M. Rama Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao as delegates of the A. H. R. Society to the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Baroda in December 1933.

2 This Council places on record its profound sense of loss sustained on account of the demise of Dewan Bahadur C. Venkatachalam Pantulu Garu who was one of the earliest members of the Society and who took a great interest in the progress of the Society.

3 Resolved to place on record the Society's grateful thanks to Sri Raja Vikrama Deo Varma Maharaja Garu for his generous donation of Rs. 500 to the Society.

Books received for Review.

The following books have been received for Review during the two quarters ending with 30-9-33 and 31-12-33.

- 1 History of the Sanskrit Literature, part 1 (Telugu)
by Malladi Suryanarayana Sastri.
- 2 Short History of Kashmir.
- 3 Banks and Money market. Dr. B. Ramachandra Rao, M.A., Ph.D.
- 4 The Formation of Madras. (A. C. Butterworth, M.A., I.C.S. Retd)
- 5 Sarada Ashrama Varshika.
- 6 Rigveda Samhita, part 1
- 7 Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.
- 8 *Kasika Vivarna Panchika* (Fasc Nos. 1-3)
- 9 Vedic Women (Telugu) J. Purushottam
- 10 Uttararama charitam (Telugu Translation)
J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
- 11 Rayavāchakam. Edited by J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L.
- 12 Rigveda Samhita, part 2.
- 13 Some Aspects of Vayu Purana. V. R. Dikshitar.

Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 30-9-33.**1. Members.****Messrs**

Nageswara Rao Gadi	1	8	0
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Atchuta Rao T.	2	0	0

Total Rs. 17 0 0

2. Subscribers.

Osmania Inter College, Warrangal	6	8	0
Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram (2 years)	13	0	0

Total Rs. 19 8 0

Total for the Quarter Rs. 36 8 0

Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 31-12-33.**(1) Members.**

<i>Messrs,</i>	Rs.	As.	P.	<i>Messrs,</i>	Rs.	As.	P.
Subbarao Pantulu N.	4	0	0	Bhandarkar D. R.	3	8	0
Kameswararao N.	4	0	0	Deb Sri L. H.	3	8	0
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Avadhani V. V. S.	3	8	0	Ranganayakulu Naidu P.	4	0	0
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Narayana D. L.	3	8	0	Potdar D.W.	3	8	0
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Venkateswarlu V.	3	8	0	Fatteh Mahamad	2	0	0
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Total Rs.					292	8	0

(2) *Subscribers.*

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The Rajas College, Parlakimidi for 1934	6	0	0
The Commisao Permanente Nova Goa	6	8	0
The Rammohan Free Library, Bezwada	3	8	0
	<hr/>		
Total Rs.	180	12	0
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(3) *Donors*

The Maharaja of Jeypore.	500	0	0
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Total for the Quarter Rs.	973	4	0

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.

Treasurer.

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Part 4.

LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA.

M. RAMA RAO, M.A., B.Ed.

Chapter I. Writing and writing material.

"A true University" said Carlyle, "is a collection of books". India was famous even in ancient days as a great centre of learning. Many foreign travellers who visited this country both for curiosity and in quest of learning have written that in this land numerous Universities existed and flourished. It is also known from the same source that the numerous collections of rare and important works preserved in this land were a source of great attraction for the other nations in those days. The popular presence of libraries implies that the art of writing was very well-known to the Indians even in those early times. The twin arts of writing and book-making are the essential factors for the rise and growth of libraries. It is necessary therefore to notice briefly the antiquity of writing in India and the various material used for that purpose.

There has been a large divergence of opinion regarding the antiquity of writing in this country. Scholars like Weeber and Bothlingk believed that the inscriptions of Aśoka are the earliest evidences of writing in India. Princep, Alfred and Senart generally agree with this view but hold that the Indian alphabet was derived from the Greeks.¹ Sir William Jones ascribes the origin of the Indian alphabet to the Semitic nations while Dickey and Taylor trace its origin from Southern Arabia, and Bühler connects it with the Phœnicians.² Other European

¹ I. Issac Taylor— The alphabet II, p. 804,

scholars advocate a theory of indigenous origin. Thomas thinks that the Indian alphabet had its origin in the Dravidian races of the South.³ Cunningham derives it from the Pictographic script⁴ and Dawson contends that it had an origin of its own. But there are two defects in these theories of foreign origin viz. they neglect the numerous reliable references to the existence of writing in this country found in the Hindu and Buddhist literatures and in the second place their advocates are not able to tell us when and in what manner India came into contact with these foreign nations. There are, on the other hand, many Indian scholars like R. G. Bhandarkar and Vishnu Sarup who argue that this country developed a system of writing all by herself.⁵ There are, as we have already stated, copious references in native literatures to the prevalence of writing in this country from times far earlier than the time of the so-called borrowing from foreign nations.

Nārada,⁶ Brihaspati and Manu⁷ mention that the ancient script known as the *Brāhmi* was created by Brahma. This is confirmed by Buddhist works like the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra etc.,⁸ a Chinese work known as the Fuan-Shulin⁹ and the writings of Hieun Tsang and Beruni.¹⁰ A Jaina work known as the Dṛisṭivāda¹¹ tells us that in the *Brāhmi* there were only 41 letters, and the Lalitavistāra bears it out.¹² The sacred books of the Buddhists are most copious in their references to the art of writing in India. The Bikkupāsitya speaks of "Lēkha" (letter)¹³ and Lēkhaka (writer). From the Jātakas it is evident that in those days royal edicts, important family matters and moral and religious precepts were being engraved on plates of silver.¹⁴ The Vinayapiṭaka alludes to the practice of Buddhist monks engraving religious precepts and instructions to their lay disciples on wooden boards.¹⁵ From the Mahāvagga it is known that the Phalaka or the slate and the Varṇaka or the pencil were the first equipment of a school-boy.¹⁶ Instances of this kind are many and varied. It is evident, from the examples referred to, that in the Buddhist age the art of writing was popularly known. Eminent scholars like Bühler and Rhys Davids ascribe the Buddhist literature to the 6th century B. C. at the earliest.

2. Bühler—Indian Paleography. p. 19.

3. J. R. A. S. (N. S) V, 1420—27.

4. Catalogue II, 52.

5. Austosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee volume, p. 539.

6. SBE 23, 58 ff.

7. Ibid 23, 904.

8. WIS 16, 280.

9. BOR I, 59.

10. Siyuki I, 77 and Beruni—India I, 171.

11. WIS 16, 281.

12. Bib. Ind. 145.

13. Ch. II—11.

14. Bühler—Indian Studies III, 7 f. 10, 18.

15. Ibid III, 4, 4.

16. Ibid 13 ff.

Ancient Sanskrit literature too contains valuable information regarding the prevalence of writing in ancient India. The work of Pāṇini, for example, is a source of useful information for the student of Indian antiquities. The grammar deals with all the words that were in current usage and incidentally explains their significance. A pertinent question arises here as to whether Pāṇini makes mention of the art of writing. Fortunately his grammar contains some valuable references to "Lipi" (writing) and "Lipikara" (one who writes). Mention is also made of a kind of writing called "Yavanāni".¹⁷ There is, however, a difference of views regarding the date of this great grammarian. Maxmüller and Goldstücker believed that he belonged to the 4th century B. C. but Bhandarkar has shown conclusively that Pāṇini could not have flourished later than the 8th century B. C. This shows that writing was familiarly known in India more than two centuries before the birth of Buddha.

A close examination of the Vedic literature indicates for writing in India a date by far anterior to even the age of Pāṇini. The Vedas abound in references to Akshara, Paṭala, Kāṇḍa, Grantha etc., which indicate a close familiarity with the system of writing and arrangement. Further the use of metrical and prose compositions in these sacred works, their indexing and the evolution of separate branches of study dealing with Philology, Phonetics and Grammar testify to the knowledge of writing in the Vedic age. This literature is assigned generally to the 15th century B.C.¹⁸

Recent excavations in the Punjab and Sind have brought to light interesting antiquities which throw fresh light on the problem of the antiquity of writing in India. At Mohenjo-darro and Harappa in the Indus valley several seals bearing writing in a peculiar script have been discovered. According to Rai Bahadur Vishnu Sarup these finds exhibit the kind of writing that preceded the *Brāhmi* and was in fact its originator. It is generally agreed among scholars that the civilisation of the Indus valley belongs to the Chalcolithic age and is as such ascribed to the third millennium B. C.¹⁹ This shows that writing in India is as old as its civilisation.

Having discussed the antiquity of writing in India we shall proceed to see what kind of material was used in this country for purposes of writing, for, the nature of a library is determined by the material of which its books are made. Archaeology, Epigraphy and Literature throw valuable light on this point. Here and there the writings of foreigners help us considerably.

17. Grammar III-2-21.

18. Das Mahābhārata 188 ff; SBE XXV; Hāmadri - Dānakanda Ch. 7 p. 544.

19. Aroh, Sur. of India 1926-27, p. 54.

BIRCH-BARK:—Q. Curtius, the Roman historian of the 4th century, alludes to the use of the inner bark of the *Bhūrja* tree as a writing material by the Hindus at the time of Alexander's invasion.²⁰ In later times it is frequently referred to in Northern Buddhist and Brahminical works. From Beruni's account²¹ the manner of preparing this bark into useful writing material is known. Pieces one ell in length and one span in breadth were cut out and then rubbed with oil in order to give them polish. A number of such leaves were placed one over the other and pierced in the middle in order to pass strings through them. A considerable number of birch-bark MSS exists to-day in the libraries of the Kashmiri pandits, in Orissa and many other parts of India.²²

COTTON CLOTH:—The use of well-beaten cotton cloth for purposes of writing is mentioned by Nearchus and some of the Smṛtis.²³ Inscriptions of the Andhra period state that official and private documents were written on *Paṭa*, *Paṭika* or *Kārpāsapaṭa*.²⁴ The way in which the cloth was prepared for use is known from the still-persisting custom among Kanarese traders of making their business-books out of this material. The cloth is covered with a kind of paste of the tamarind-seed and afterwards blackened with charcoal. The letters are written with chalk or steatite pencil.²⁵ MSS written on such cloth were found at Jesalmir, Anhilvāḍpattān and other places.²⁶

WOODEN BOARDS:—A passage from the Vinayapīṭaka tells us that the Buddhist monks used to write precepts to their lay disciples on wooden boards. An inscription of the Śaka king Nahapāna²⁷ speaks of the wooden boards in the Guild-hall on which agreements regarding loans were written. Kātyāyana prescribes that complaints should be written on boards of wood with the *Pāṇḍulēkha* or chalk²⁸ and the famous Sanskrit poet Daṇḍin gives an instance of a royal declaration written on a varnished board.²⁹ A MSS on such material was discovered in Assam and is now kept in the Bodlean library.³⁰ It is known that even to this day poor people in the N. W. Frontier Province copy religious works with chalk on wooden boards.³¹

20. Bothlingk and Roth—Sanskrit Wörterbuch, see under "Bhūrja".

21. India I, 171.

22. Gough's Papers 17; Kashmir Rept 29 n2.

23. Grundriss II, 171.

24. ASWI IV, p. 104, ins. No. 11.

25. Mysore and Coorg gazetteer 1877, I, 408.

26. Rept. on Sanskrit MSS. V. 113.

27. Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rept IV, 102. Ins. 7.

28. Burnell — S. Ind. pal. p. 87, n. 2.

29. Daśakumāra charita Uchvāsa 2.

30. Buhler- Ind. pal. p. 94.

31. Gough's papers, p. 18.

LEAVES:—Leaves known as *Panna* (Parṇa) were the most common writing material in ancient times. These were mostly of the palmyra tree which grows in abundance mostly in the Dekkan. MSS recently discovered in India and Central Asia prove the use of these leaves as early as the 4th century A. D.³² A tradition recorded in the life of Hieun Tsang mentions³³ that the Buddhist cannon was written on palm-leaves at the first Buddhist council held after Buddha's death. In order to be fit for use, the leaves were first dried, next boiled or soaked in water, then again dried and finally polished with stone or conch-shells. After this they were cut to the proper size. Generally their length varied from 1' to 3' and the breadth from 1¼" to 4". The practice was either to write on these leaves with ink or inscribe on them with a stilus. In the latter case they were afterwards blackened with soot or charcoal. Such leaves were placed one over the other and pierced either in the middle or on the sides in order to pass strings through them. The bundle of leaves was then placed between two wooden boards and then the strings were tied round them.

SKIN AND IVORY:—Allusions to the use of skin for writing are many in ancient India. MSS of this description have been actually discovered in Central Asia. Owing to its impurity skin was not very popular. Ivory has been used in rare cases as writing material. One specimen found in Burma is now preserved in the British Museum.³⁴

METALS:—Metals as writing material seem to have been very popular in ancient times. The Jātakas show that important domestic affairs and royal grants were recorded on them³⁵ A specimen of this type was discovered at Taxila.³⁶ During the excavation of the Stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprōlu a MS written on plates of silver has been found.³⁷ In the British Museum there are MSS written on gilded and silver-plated palm-leaves. Copper plates were the most common writing material in ancient days. During Mauryan times official decrees were committed to copper.³⁸ Hieun Tsang tells us that the famous Buddhist emperor Kanishka caused the sacred books to be engraved on sheets of copper.³⁹ There are reliable evidences to prove that even valuable literary works were engraved on such plates and preserved. Such for example are the religious and literary works of the Tāllapāka family now preserved in the Tirupati temple. Other specimens found in Burma and Ceylon are preserved in the British Museum.⁴⁰ The writing on these plates was done in two ways, either they were cast into a mould of sand into which the

32. J. A. S. B. 66, 225 ff.

34 Jour. Pal. Text. Soc. 1883, 135 f.

36 Arch. Sur. Rep. II, 129.

38 Buhler—Ind. Pal. p. 81.

40 Jour. Pal. Text. Soc. 1883, p. 187 ff.

23. Beal II, 225.

35 Buhler—Indian studies III, 10 f

37 Ibid New Imp. Ser. 15 p. 18 pal. 6.,

39 Burnell—S. Ind. Pal. p. 26.

letters have been previously engraved or the letters were inscribed on them with the help of the chisel and the hammer. Several of the plates were joined together by a copper-ring passing through a hole on one side of each plate. In order to protect the writing, the rims of the plates were thickened and slightly raised.

STONE AND BRICK:—Among other kinds of writing material used in India from very early times may be mentioned stone and brick. Stones of various kinds are easily and cheaply available in this country. These were used to inscribe grants and donations and such inscriptions are found all over the country in large numbers. Even Aśoka has said that in inscribing his edicts on stone he was following an old custom. But one remarkable feature about this writing material is that even literary works of a high standard were engraved on stones for the sake of better and longer preservation. Many instances of this type have survived to this day. Thus, for example, a large fragment of a play composed by the Chahamāna king Vighraha IV and his poet-laureate Sōmadēva has been engraved at Ajmer.⁴¹ A large Jaina Sthalapurāṇa in several *sargas* exists at Bijhōli in Rajputana.⁴² Kālidāsa's *Rtusamhāra* has likewise been engraved on a rock in Vidiśa. A number of bricks on which Buddhist *sūtras* were engraved have been discovered in the N. W. Frontier.⁴³

PAPER:—Paper was rarely used in ancient India, the earliest evidence of its use being in the 11th century.⁴⁴ Malva, Gujarat and Anhilvādpattāṇ have yielded specimens of paper MSS belonging to the 14th century.⁴⁵

INK:—Ink was extensively used in ancient India for writing purposes. It was known as *Mashi* and the Purāṇas frequently mention *Mashi Pātra*, *Mashi Bhānda* and *Mashi Kupa* or the ink-stand.⁴⁶ Nearchus of the 4th century B.C. refers to the practice of the Hindus of writing on birch-bark leaves and cloth with ink. From the dots on some of the Aśōkan inscriptions, the relics from the Andhēri Stūpa and some of the antiquities from the Stūpas of Afghanistan it is known that ink was widely used in India even before the Christian Era.⁴⁷ The Purāṇas contain several references to this practice. Many kinds of charcoal, gum sugar etc were used for preparing the inks in ancient India.⁴⁸

This brief discussion of the antiquity of writing in India and the description of the various writing material used even from very early times shows how the art of writing was popularly known in this country. This naturally leads us on to enquire when and how books came to be written and preserved in this country. This question we shall answer in the next chapter.

41 Ind. Ant. XX, 201 ff. 42 Buhler—Ind. Pal, p.97. 43 Arch. Sur. Rep. I, 97.

44 Gough's Papers 16.

45 Rept. on Sans. MSS. V. p. 123, 125.

46 Bothlingk and Roth—Sams, Wort. See 'Masi'.

47 Buhler—Indian studies III, 61 f, 69.

48 Gough's papers 18f; Kashmir Rep. p. 30.

Chapter II. Origin and Evolution.

Having discussed the antiquity of writing in India and described the various kinds of material used for purposes of writing, we shall now proceed to discuss the origin and evolution of the Library in this country. The art of writing was known to the ancient Indians even from the third millennium B.C. and writing was popularly used at least from the 7th or 6th centuries B.C. This does not however prove the existence of libraries in this country in those remote times, unless we suppose that the family collections of metallic plates on which were engraved important domestic affairs constituted the nucleus of a family library. Whatever might have been the case in pre-historic times, the library was not a necessity in the Vedic age. Learning in those days was mainly religious and strictly confined to the priestly class. Technical and professional education was transmitted through the hereditary medium. The priestly class which constituted the *intelligentia* of the time spread learning by word of mouth and confined it to its own members. When in course of time the caste system became rigid, all learning became the monopoly of the Brahman, while the other communities were admitted to a graded system of secular learning. This continued for a long time. Meanwhile the Vedic and the post-Vedic literature grew in great abundance and soon the arts and the sciences were developed. The literary output was too voluminous to be mastered by single individuals as before. Thus the zealous scholar had to face two evils, he had either to commit the knowledge of the times to writing, taking the risk of its thus being accessible even to the forbidden classes, or allow that part of it which could not be mastered by a single individual or a generation to lapse into the oblivion. Luckily the former evil seems to have been chosen. The art of writing being familiarly known, the Hindus began to record the wisdom of the ages on suitable material. What these were and how they were used we have shown in the previous chapter. There soon was such a thorough change in the attitude of the intellectual aristocrats that the writing of the scriptures came to be considered a religious duty. It is not possible to say when this change came about but it had immense consequences. This in fact may be taken to be the origin of book-making and libraries in ancient India. As the number of books copied increased, the problem of their preservation came to the forefront. Some definite place, probably the sanctuary in the first instance, was set apart for this purpose and the name *Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāra* given to it. There are reliable evidences to show that the library was a common institution in the time of the Buddha.

The movement for the copying and collection of ancient books must have received considerable stimulus at different periods in the ancient history of this country and helped the progressive evolution of the library. The age of Kanishka is memorable in this respect. By his time there was a schism in the Buddhist church and many different schools grew up. The emperor held a council and as the result of its labours the sacred lore was written down for the benefit of the faithful. These authorised copies must have circulated throughout the country and found their way into the collections of monks and kings. The rise of the Mahāyāna also must have helped the cause of the libraries through its literary activity. Then came the glorious epoch of the Guptas of Magadha when there was a Hindu renaissance accompanied by an unprecedented literary activity. This was the time when the Purāṇas and the Social and Legal codes were committed to writing. Innumerable copies must have been made of these works and the famous compositions of eminent literary men like Kālidāsa. The age of Harsha again must have given a fresh impetus to the library movement through the immense literary activity of the time under royal patronage. The 9th and 10th centuries were a period of unstinted growth for the Indian libraries as they were for the nation as a whole. With the advent of the Mahomedans the situation changed. In the North the attention of the Hindus was directed not only towards the preservation of their lives and property but also of their ancient books which were consigned to flames wherever available by the foreign invaders. But in the Dekkan and South India the library continued to flourish unimpaired till the beginning of the 14th century when the Mahomedans invaded this part of the country and destroyed numbers of Hindu kingdoms. Even then there was a revival of Hinduism under the lead of the Padmanāyakas of Rājkonḍa, the Reddis of Koṇḍavīḍu and the rulers of Vijayanagara. These chieftains protected Hinduism and Hindu culture and gave a fresh impetus to learning and literature. This period of two centuries must have witnessed the ancient Indian library at its highest.

As in modern times various types of libraries existed in ancient India. All the famous universities like Nālanda, Vikramaśīla and Uddandapura and the other educational institutions like the Ghaṭika and the Saṃgam had well-equipped libraries. There were also the libraries attached to the quasi-religious bodies like the Parishad; while the monastery, the Maṭha, the temple and the royal court each had its own library. There were besides individual collections.

The nature of the ancient Indian library varied considerably. All the institutions mentioned above must have contained the sacred lore and the elementary works on different branches of learning though each had its own bias. Thus for example, the university of Nālanda taught

all branches though it specialised in Hētuvidya or Logic. Taxila was noted for the teaching of the medical sciences and it is likely that the libraries in such places were specially strong in the subjects they taught. Vikramaśīla was noted for *Tantra* and Kashmir for Grammar and Rhetoric. The Vihāras preserved valuable books on Buddhism while the Upāśraya and the temple did the same for Jainism and Hinduism. The case with the royal courts seems to have been different. They were rendezvous mostly of literary men and obviously the collections of the kings who patronised these men must have been rich in works of literature.

The scope and the use of the ancient Indian library seems to have been limited to the educated classes. There was nothing like a popular library. The temple and other agencies looked after the education of the masses which consisted of the rudiments of religion. The caste system included in its fold every individual and prescribed for him a compulsory and hereditary education. Hence the absence of a system of popular education so-called and of popular libraries. Elementary education was in the hands of individual teachers while education of the advanced type was concentrated in the universities and other centres of learning. All those that chose a literary career flocked to these places while the others took to their respective callings. The library therefore served the needs of the advanced student and the investigator.

We may also consider here the way in which the libraries were formed. Printing was unknown in those days and the libraries all contained written MSS. The copying of sacred books was considered a religious duty. A number of foreigners came to India with the object of copying valuable MSS. In some places there seem to have been professional copyists who did the work for remuneration. An inscription at Nālanda mentions that a copy of the *Praññā Pāramitā Sūtra* was prepared by a Sthavira and that the cost was meted out by another individual who wanted the book for his own use. Besides the works of the old masters, there were the compositions of contemporary scholars in each generation which also were copied in numbers. Several copies of important works circulated not only within the country but also in her cultural colonies overseas. Recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia and the Far East have brought to light the important fact that libraries of Indian origin existed all along the ancient routes of communication between India and the other Asiatic countries. It seems to have been a practice with the ancient Indian colonists and missionaries to carry their sacred books along with them and establish monasteries and libraries in foreign lands and induce the natives to copy these MSS. Thus was the ancient Indian library formed, maintained and developed as an agency not only for the preservation but also the propagation of ancient Indian Culture.

Chapter III. Location and Organisation.

We have so far discussed the origin and evolution of the library in ancient India. The question now arises as to where it was generally located and how it was organised. Some special places however seem to have been chosen for housing large collections of books. Such for example were the university, the temple, the monastery, the upaśraya, the maṭha and the royal court.

THE UNIVERSITY:—The great Indian universities of ancient and medieval times were the most popular centres for the diffusion of education. The greatest scholars of the times lived in them teaching hundreds and thousands of students. The rarity and uniqueness of their learning, the provisions made in these places for the undisturbed prosecution of studies and above all, the vast collections of rare works there attracted large numbers of people from far and near. The incessant educational activity of these universities naturally created an imperative need for well equipped libraries. Especially in the Buddhist age the number of subjects studied was many and varied and with the advent of Mahāyāna the literature itself grew by leaps and bounds. Further the tenets of other religions were also taught in these institutions for purposes of comparative study. Very soon therefore the leading universities like those of Nālanda Vikramaśīla, Odantapuri etc. formed splendid collections. That good libraries existed in these places is shown by the accounts of Mahomadan writers of the 12th and 13th centuries when all these famous places of learning in North India were destroyed by the Sultans of Delhi.⁴⁹

THE PARISHAD:—Even from the pre-Buddhist times various educational bodies flourished in this country. Such for example, were the Parishads. According to Vasishta, Gautama, Bōdhāyana and other ancient law-givers, these were periodical assemblies of men learned in various branches. Their sole objective was to lay down the law, and settle disputes in regard to its observance. These assemblies generally met in certain towns. The scope of their work and the places of their assemblage indicate the necessity for the existence of well-equipped libraries within easy reach. One reason for their meeting in towns was perhaps the presence in them of good libraries. It is known that kings and wealthy individuals were in the habit of making donations to these Parishads. We do not know if the members were remunerated. Being periodical assemblies they involved no recurring expenditure. The only way in which the gifts could be utilised by the Parishads seems to be the maintenance of good libraries.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Tajul-Ma'asir* by Hasan Nizami in Elliot II, pp 222, 223; *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* by Siraj p. 562; *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* of Bilgrami p. 96,

⁵⁰ For fuller details see my *Bhāratyavidyā cārītram*, p. 70

THE GHATĪKA:—During the early centuries of the Christian era the Ghatika was a renowned centre of learning. While the Parishad considered many kinds of problems, this institution confined itself to work of a technical and educational type. We have numerous instances of the existence of Ghatikas. Mayūraśarman the founder of the Kadamba royal family is said to have visited several Ghatikas in order to become a master of logic.⁵¹ An Eastern Chalukyan inscription mentions the Ghatika of Asanapura in the Andhra country.⁵² Narasimhavarman II the Pallava king founded a Ghatika at Kānchi.⁵³ These were learned bodies where discussions were held in the secular and religious lore. A member of the Ghatika was known as *Ghaṭikā-āmānya* while those that came out victorious in the discussions were rewarded with the title *Ghaṭikā Sāhasa*. As in the case of the Parishads the Ghatikas also received grants and donations. These must have been spent for the up-keep of libraries, for, like the Parishad the Ghatika also was the seat of active discussions and disputations which necessitate constant reference to authorities for the arguments on either side. This conjecture regarding the presence of a library in the Ghatika is supported by the recent discoveries at Nāgai near Wadi in the Nizam's Dominions. Two Chalukyan inscriptions of this place belonging to the 11th century A.D. record the institution of a *Ghaṭikaśālā* or a college at this place. It is interesting to note that this college was provided with a good library managed by six librarians.⁵⁴ Even the very building that housed the library has been discovered and preserved, thanks to H. E. H. the Nizam's Government.

THE SAMGAM:—While the Ghatika devoted itself to general education, the Samgam encouraged literary activity in South India. It was a gathering of poets and men of letters, which decided the worth of literary compositions and set the seal of its approval on them. The Pāndyan kings of Madura were its patrons. Renowned Tamil works like the 'Maṇimēkhalai' and the 'Periya purāṇam' were the productions of the Samgam age. It is said that at one time over 400 literary works were sent to the Samgam for approval.⁵⁵ Naturally all the works thus acquired must have constituted a good library. Under the discerning encouragement of the Samgam and the zealous royal patronage behind it, there must have been a tremendous output of literary works which in turn effected the size and quality of the Samgam's library. In Mahomedan times we hear of a number of literary societies in Delhi and Agra, each of which possessed a fine library. It is not unreasonable therefore to suppose that the Samgam which was likewise the leading literary society of the day in South India, also had a library of its own.

51 Ibid. 52 Ibid. 53 Ibid. 54 Hyd. Arch. Ser. No 8. p. 7.

55. Venkatesvara—Indian culture through the ages. p. 40.

THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY:— The Vihāras and the Samgārāmas of the Buddhists played a prominent part in the development of the library in ancient India. Numerous monasteries were built in places remote from the bustle and confusion of the towns by pious and munificent followers of the Dharma. The monks resorted to these places and spent their time in peaceful devotion and propagation of the Buddhist faith. As we stated already, writing was popularly known and used in these times and many of the sacred books were recorded in writing. The monks seem to have frequently used these books for study and propagation. A record of a Valabhi prince of W. India, for example, of the 6th century A.D. records a donation (Pustakōpakraya) in order to enable the monks of the Buddhist monastery at Duḍḍa to buy books of the *Saddharma*.⁵⁶ This is a clear indication of the presence of libraries in the monasteries. Besides the books thus acquired through purchase, the monastic libraries must have had numerous MSS copied by devout monks who considered the work part of their religious duty.

THE UPASĀRAYA:— The Jainas also built numerous monasteries for the residence of the monks of their religion. These places were used as in the case of Buddhism to propagate the religion. Donations were equally obligatory on the part of Jaina and Buddhist lay men and the *prasasti*s of several old MSS prove that this obligation was fulfilled in the most liberal manner. Even to this day many pious Jainas donate large sums of money to their monasteries for the copying of books. This coupled with the religious zeal with which the monks copied the sacred books resulted in the rapid multiplication of the MSS in the monastic libraries. To this day in some of the Upasrayas of W. India there are hundreds of copies of important works, the library at Ahmedabad alone containing 400 copies of the Jaina *Āśāyaka sūtra*.⁵⁷

THE TEMPLE:— The temple was to Hinduism what the *Vihāra* and the Upasraya were to the Buddhist and Jaina faiths. It was the centre of all activity, the agent of popular education, the pulpit from which the scholars expounded the Purāṇas and the sacred lore, the national picture gallery wherein were erected the statues of the mythical and historical heroes of the land, the university which educated hundreds of young men and above all, the great public library of the locality. This wonderful and all-pervading institution attained much popularity during the Gupta times and has continued since then to be one of the mainstays of Hinduism. When the whole of Āryāvarta was overrun by the Mahomadans, Hindu culture fled to the borders and sought refuge in the temples and royal courts of the Dekkan and South India. That the

56. Buhler- Indian Paleography p. 99.

57. Rept. on Sanskrit MSS for 1873-78 in Gough's papers.

temple guarded this culture and disseminated it widely is shown by many evidences. In the first place there are hundreds of inscriptions which refer to its educational activity. In several places, especially in South India temples have been built on a gigantic scale with, numerous halls and enclosures, e. g. the Nāṭyamaṇṭapa, the Dōlāmaṇṭapa, the Purāṇa maṇṭapa etc. Inscriptions show how these various halls were frequently used. The Vyākaraṇa maṇṭapa served as a grammar-school while the Purāṇamaṇṭapa must have been the place where the Purāṇas were expounded to the gathered devotees every day. More important from our point of view is the educational activity of the temple. Inscriptions also tell us about the number of students and teachers in each temple, the provisions made for their boarding and lodging and above all, the various subjects taught. An inscription from Tribhuvani,⁵⁸ for example, tells us that in the college attached to the local temple there were three teachers of the Ṛgveda, three for the Yajus, two for Sāma and one each for Vājasa-nīya, Bōdhāyaniya etc. Vēdānta, Rūpāvatāra, Vyākaraṇa, Bhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Vaikhānasa and Manu were some of the other subjects taught here. It seems that there were in all 360 students in this institution. At Enṇāyiram⁵⁹ and Tirumukkuḍal⁶⁰ in South India similar institutions flourished. Inscriptions mention that in the latter place there was a college, a hostel and a hospital. In the Andhradēśa itself such temples and temple-colleges existed at centres like Śrīśailam, Drākshārāma, Mandaram, and Tripurāntakam. That these temples contained well-equipped libraries as adjuncts to the educational institutions is proved by the typical instance of the temple of Nāgai which contained a Ghaṭikāśāla and a library managed by six librarians.⁶¹ Further the Purāṇas declare it to be the sacred duty of the wealthy to make donations of books to the temples.⁶² Another instance of a temple-library is that of Nagarkōt where in the Jvālāmukhi temple Sultan Firoz Shah found a valuable collection of 1300 ancient Hindu works.⁶³ It may be supposed therefore that most of the Hindu temples contained extensive libraries.

THE MATHA:—While the temple stood as an institution for the spread of general education, the mutts founded by the heads of various religions like Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva became centres of sectarian learning. To these were added the institutions founded by the followers of other teachers like Basava and Chaitanya. Śrī Sankara is said to have established mutts at Srīngēri, Dvāraka, Pūri, Kāśi,

58. See my 'Bhārattya Vidyā Charitamu p. 74.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Hyd. Arch. Ser. No. 8. p. 7.

62. Hemadri, Danakanda 544 ff.

63. Tarikhi-Ferishta in Elliot VI, p. 227.

Haridwār and Badari.⁶⁴ Monasteries of the Ramanuja school exist at Mēlkōt, Mannārkoil, Ahōbilam etc.⁶⁵ Śrī Madhva set up eight Ēmutts at Uḍipi and another with an all-India jurisdiction. In subsequent times some of his followers established other branches. Similarly the followers of Basava built many Mutts in Karnāṭaka. In the 12th and 13th centuries teachers of the Gōlagi Mutt in the Dāhala country came to the South, obtained influence with the Chōla and Kerala kings and the Kakatiyas of Āndhradēśa and propagated the Kālāmukha form of Śaivism.⁶⁶ Numerous Mutts were built by these teachers at places like Mandaram, Pushpagiri and Tripurāntakam in the Āndhradēśa and Tirupparankunṇam, Madhura, Seyyūr and Devikāpuram in the Tamil country.⁶⁷ That these Mutts must have had good libraries is proved by the fact that even to-day they contain many rare and valuable MSS relating to Vedānta. Many of them are great educational agencies. Thus, for example, in the Kōdiya Mutt at Belagāmvi the Vedas, the grammars of Kumāra, Pāṇini and Śākatāyana, the Darśanas, Yōga, the Purāṇas, Itihāsa, Dharmaśāstras and literature were taught.⁶⁸ It is likely that these Mutts like the colleges possessed fine libraries.

THE ROYAL COURTS:—From very early times the Indian princes distinguished themselves as zealous patrons of learning. It was in fact one of their duties to do so. Even Buddhist rulers like Kanishka and Harsha continued this tradition. In the wake of the religious and literary renaissance under the Guptas, this royal patronage of learned men became extensive. Almost every alternate inscription discovered so far records a royal gift to some scholar or other. The reputation of a prince depended not so much on the extent of his empire or his material wealth as upon the number of learned men that adorned his court. Thus the literary history of medieval India is the history of royal patronage of learning. When the Mahomadans occupied the whole of N. India, Hindu culture and learning fled to the remote corners of the country like the Dekkan, Kashmir and Nēpal. It may be rightly said that hence-forward the Dekkan became the chief seat of Hindu learning which was ardently supported and some times defended at the cost of life and state by the medieval Hindu rulers. Many of these kings were great scholars themselves and maintained many learned men at their respective courts. This led to an unprecedented literary activity both in sanskrit and in the vernaculars. Many names stand preeminently before us in this connection, e.g. Bhōja of Dhāra, Chalukya Viśāladēva of Anhilvāḍpaṭṭan, Rāja Rāja the

64 The Bharati X, No. 8 p. 142.

65 Ibid.

66 The Malkāpuram inscription in J.A.H.R.S. 1V-3 & 4.

67 Annl. Rep. S. Ind. Ep. for 1926 'the Gōlagi Matha'.

68 See my Bhāratīya Vidya Charitramu in Bharati for Sep. 1933.

Eastern Chalukyan prince of Rajahmundry, Manumasiddhi, the Telugu Chōda ruler of Nellore, Pratāparudradēva the famous Kakatiya king of Warangal, Anavēma and Kumāragiri of the Reddis of Koṇḍaviḍu, Sarvajñasingama of the Padmanāyaka family of Rajakonda, and last but not least Krishṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara. The period between 1000-1500 A.D. was the golden age of Dekkan history. All the princes mentioned above and their subordinates and subjects patronised a number of poets and learned men and helped the production of many standard works on art, literature, poetry and sciences. That all the royal courts of the time contained good libraries is proved by the typical example of the royal library of king Bhōja of Dhāra and the Imperial library of the Chalukyas of Anhilvaḍpaṭṭan.⁶⁹ Another fact also points to the same conclusion. In many of these royal courts academic discussions were held and the merit of poets and men of letters tested. Pratāparudra of Warangal is said to have lavished gifts on victors in such discussions. The famous Telugu poet Śrīnātha was bathed in coins of gold (Svarṇābhishēka) at the Vijayanagar court. Good and well-equipped libraries are indispensable in cases of such academic controversies. It may be concluded therefore that every one of the Hindu rulers had their own libraries in which were preserved along with others, the works written by themselves and their favourite scholars.

So much for the location of the library in ancient and medieval India. We shall now consider how it was organised in those times. The material at our disposal for this investigation is very scanty. In fact there are only two references to library management in epigraphy and literature. Many institutions and the very evidences of their existence must have been lost as a result of the vandalism of the followers of Islam. It is said that one of the Mugal Emperors ordered that the books of the infidels should be utilised for boiling water with which his daily bath should be conducted. It is certain that the Hindus who had the genius for reducing everything into a science and improving it into a distinct branch of learning, should have devoted their attention to the library and devised an excellent system of organisation and management for this very important institution. The wisdom and reputation of ancient India depended upon her unique culture and learning and the library was the repository of all her literary treasures. We may conclude therefore that several treatises on this subject were written but are now lost to us. The Bhāskara Samhita however is the only work of this kind which has escaped the ruthless destruction by the Mahomedans and survived to our times. This treatise tells us that the library should be located in a building of stone finely built. The books were first rolled in a piece of cloth and bound with strings. Then they were placed alongside

of each other on iron racks. The library thus formed was in the charge of a librarian. He had not only to look after the books and preserve them carefully but also to guide the students in their advanced studies and enable them to reap the full benefits from the library. It is obvious from this that the office of the librarian carried much responsibility with it. The association of tutorial functions with it shows that the librarians were great scholars well acquainted with the existing literature on several branches of learning. The inscription of Nāgai to which we have often referred is of paramount importance in this connection. It refers to the erection of a Ghaṭikāśāla or college. Among the ruins of the place there is a "big building with an outer courtyard, with rooms on either side, with a big doorway which leads into a spacious hall with a number of stone benches serving as pials and seven niches in the back wall."⁷⁰ Evidently this ruined building is a part of the Ghaṭikāśāla referred to in the inscription. The same epigraph tells us that there were six librarians in the college obviously in charge of the library. The seven niches in the back wall of the ruined building must have been part of the college library. Thus we find at Nāgai the dictum of the Bhāskara samhita that the library should be located in a strong building of stone, carried into actual practice. A consideration of the staff of this Ghaṭikāśāla implies that the six librarians of this place had to attend to tutorial work besides looking after the library for, the inscription records gifts to "two hundred scholars studying the Vēdas, and fifty-two studying the Śāstras. The institute was manned by three Vēdic scholars, three Śāstra-teachers and the six librarians (*Sarasvatī bhāṇḍārikas*)."⁷¹ Here were six teachers educating a batch of two hundred and fifty two students. Besides the four Vēdas, we are told that Bhāṭṭadarśana, Nyāya, and Prābhākara were also taught in this college. A staff of six teachers could not have been sufficient to coach such a large number of students in not less than seven subjects. We have already shown how the librarians in those days were teaching advanced students. It is likely that in the college of Nāgai also they discharged the same function. The presence of six librarians in this comparatively small institution confirms this supposition. Each of these officers was given the same allowance as the teachers. From this it is clear that the Bhāṇḍārika or the librarian was reckoned as an equal to the scholars and teachers of various branches of learning.

Thus in ancient and medieval India the library was a very popular institution found all over the country. Its nature often varied with the kind of institution to which it was attached. It was a well organised institution often in charge of some of the leading scholars of the time.

⁷⁰. Hyd. Arch. Ser. No. 8. p. 1.

Chapter IV. Hindu Libraries.

As we have stated in the first chapter the arts of writing and book-making were known to the Hindus from very early times. Many Hindu Universities and other educational centres existed in the Hindu India of the pre-Buddhist age and they all had libraries of their own.

TAXILA :—One of the great Universities that flourished in pre-Buddhist India was the famous university of Taxila. The world renowned sage Gautama Buddha and the illustrious Jīvaka and Charaka were some of the *alumni* of this ancient seat of learning. Kautilya, the famous author of *Arthaśāstra*, also is said to have studied at the university of Taxila. A number of foreign students even from distant countries like Korea and Japan besides many Greeks resorted to this university in order to reap the benefits of the expert tuition given here by the great masters and the rare and valuable collection of books at this university. Here pupils and teachers handled books beautifully bound.⁷¹ The main object of the foreign students at this place seems to have been the university's library and its books which they copied as in the case of the Buddhist university of Nālanda of later times. This university and its library flourished between 600 B. C. and 400 A. D.

BENARES :—Next in importance was Benares. As the holy of holies it was the seat of many learned scholars and their disciples. To this day the student of Benares is held in high esteem all over the country. Each scholar must have had his own collection of ancient works which the students copied for their own use. Such MSS brought from Benares are still to be found in the families of many Pandits in the Andhra country. It is said that a student at Benares has to spend twelve years before he can become acquainted with all the literature on a single branch of learning.⁷²

KASHMIR :—Like Benares, Kashmir was also a renowned seat of learning. It was the home of a number of literary luminaries like Kalhaṇa, Maḥaṇa, Kṣhēmendra, Bhāmaha, Mummaṭa etc. A *Śāradāpīṭha* flourished at Kashmir and the scholar that won the admiration of the learned men of the *pīṭha* was recognised and honoured throughout the country. Evidently this was a gathering of scholars like the *Samgam* of the Tamil country which likewise judged the merit of each literary composition referred to it and set the seal of approval on it. Kashmir possesses to-day one of the finest MSS collections of this country and

⁷¹ S. Pratapareddi-Granthalayamulu p. 10.

⁷² O. Narayana Rao—Prachina Vidyapithamulu, "Kasi"

many of the MSS are of ancient times. Obviously the famous *Śāradāpīṭha* of this place had an extensive library.⁷³

LOCAL LIBRARIES :—Besides the educational centres and individual scholars many towns and temples had collections of books. Bijapur is an instance to the point. Under the name of Vidyāpura it was a great centre of literary activity in the pre-Mahomadan times. The Western Chalukyan kings of Kalyān erected here a beautiful building, ruins of which are still to be seen and which housed a good collection of books,⁷⁴ as the inscriptions of the place show. Nāgarkōt is another instance. Firoze Tuglaq besieged and pillaged this place. He was then informed that in the local temple of Jvālāmukhi there was a large collection of Hindu MSS. The Sultan had the library examined, selected a few important books and had them translated into Persian. The *Dalil-e-Firozshāhi* is one of the MSS thus translated.⁷⁵

ROYAL COURTS :—Next to the educational institutions, the royal courts furthered the cause of education and libraries in this country. Patronising literary men was one of the duties and hobbies of the Hindu kings. Ancient traditional works and the biographies of poets and scholars show how the royal courts were the centres where important discussions were held and the winners honoured. Several works were produced under the zealous patronage of the rulers. Some of the rulers themselves like Harsha, Vikramāditya, Pratāparudra, Anavēṇa, Kumāragiri, Sarvajñasingama and Krishnaraya were men of high literary talents and the patrons of many learned men. These rulers must have had their own palace collections in which were preserved the works of the past as well as contemporary productions. We have very few examples of ancient and medieval royal libraries, the reason for the paucity being the probable destruction of these collections along with the kingdoms by the Mahomadans. A famous Hindu royal library of the middle ages was that of king Bhōja of Dhāra who flourished in the 11th century.⁷⁶ When in the middle of the 12th century this kingdom was conquered by Siddharāja Jayasimha, the royal library of Dhāra was amalgamated with the imperial library of the Chalukyas at Anhilvādpatṭan. The *Bhārattbhandāra* of Chalukya Viśāladēva of the 13th century is another famous example. This collection furnished the MSS of the *Naishadhiya* and that of the *Kāmasūtra* on which was based the *Jayamangalatika* of Yaśōdhara. A copy of the *Ramayana* now in the library of the University of Bonn was obtained from this ancient collection of Viśāladēva. Coming

73 Ibid "Kasmiramu"

74 Fergusson Architecture at Bijapur p. 12.

75 Law—Promotion of learning in Mahomadan times p. 112.

76 Buhler-Ind. pale p. 99

to later times we find many interesting examples of royal collections. In the Andhradesa itself, the collections of the feudatory rulers of Gadwal and Vanaparathi deserve special mention. Thousands of rare and valuable MSS are preserved in these states being the result of the literary zeal of generations of enlightened rulers.

The search for ancient MSS instituted by the Government of India has shown that there are still many good libraries in India at the courts of ruling princes, coming down from generations. Such for example are the royal libraries of Alwar, Bikaner, Jammu, Mysore, Tanjore, Jaipur and Nepal. Maharaja Sawai Jaising of Jaipur who was a zealous patron of learning improved the state library to a great extent. Unfortunately this famous library which was the finest collection in Rajasthan was partly disposed off by one of Jaising's descendants who partitioned his empire with a prostitute. The remnants are still preserved at Jaipur with great care. Among the other collections, the library of the Maharaja of Jodpur contains over 1800 MSS and a large number of printed books in Sanskrit and the vernaculars. The library at Bikaner contains 2000 MSS in Sanskrit while that of Alwar has a choice collection of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic MSS. Outside Rajasthan the library of Kashmir deserves special consideration. Kashmir was from time immemorial a noted centre of learning in many subjects. The rulers of this famous country, past and present, have evinced good care towards the preservation of ancient MSS. A great part of the royal collection is now in Jammu and has been catalogued by Dr. Buhler. One special feature of the MSS of Kashmir is that they usually are of a better get up and the Sanskrit works are finely illustrated. They are also bound in leather and kept in shelves in the modern fashion. The oldest and the most important MSS collection in India is the Durbar library of Nepal. Some of the MSS in this collections are as old as the Gupta period. It contains works on palm-leaf as well as paper numbering over 5000. They are the result of the collecting zeal of the rulers of Nepal from the remotest times, each successive ruler adding to the number inherited by him. The climate of Kashmir is favourable for the preservation of MSS and what little decay has set in has been set right by the library staff. In South India the court library of Tanjore supplies a parallel to that of Kashmir, though comparatively recent. Dr. Burnell who was deputed by the Government of India to catalogue this collection of the Naik kings has reported that it is "the largest and most important in the world." The library dates from the end of the 16th century when Tanjore was under the Telugu Naiks. For full one hundred years these rulers who were great patrons of learning collected thousands of rare MSS and preserved them with great care in their palace. The Maharata Rajas who conquered this part of the country continued the activity and made many additions to the royal library. The total

number of MSS is now upwards of 18000 gathered from all parts of India, written in eleven alphabets. Regarding the value of the collection Dr. Burnell has said, "It is now a recognised fact that nearly all the Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjor library is unrivalled in this respect; it contains several good MSS of the most important ones known as yet including a few that are new... As far as I can judge it would not be possible to form a collection like that at Tanjore at a less cost than £ 50000" (i.e. seven lakhs and a half of rupees).

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS:— There must have been a very large number of private collections in ancient and medieval India. The reports on the search for MSS reveal to us quite a good number of such collections. Kashmir is famous in this respect. In the Nizam's Dominions there exist to-day numerous individual libraries coming down from generations. A few literary references are however available which show that the libraries were a common feature in those times. Peddana, the poet laureate of Krishnadēvarāya the famous Vijayanagar emperor, refers in his immortal work the *Manucharitra*, to the Kukavi (pseudo-poet) who spends a busy time in the midst of palm-leaf books stealing the writings of the ancients in order to pass them off as his own. Tenali Ramakrishna / another famous Telugu poet of about the same time mentions four chief sources of danger for a library—fire, rotting, (owing to the action of insects or the weather), mislaying and thieves. Corresponding to the request made at the end of every stone and copper plate inscription to preserve the grant made in it, we find at the end of old MSS a request made by the writer in the following words- "Oh reader! I have written this book with a great amount of strain for the hips, waist, neck and eyes. Please therefore preserve this book with great care." These three references indicate how popular the private library was in ancient and medieval times. It is also evident that the copying of MSS was the chief leisure time occupation of the educated classes. Many such collections are still to be seen in the villages where the palm-leaf book continues to hold the ground in spite of the modern bound volumes of paper and print.

We have some interesting examples of private collections in modern times coming down from remote years. Mr. Padmaraja Pandit of the Mysore Archaeological Department owns a large library consisting of MSS collected by his ancestors together with those recently collected by himself in the Southern Districts of the Madras presidency as well as Ceylon. There are besides many Jaina pandits in the Mysore state who possess more or less large collections. Messrs Veerasangappa, Karibasava Sastry and Mallappa of Mysore city and Mr. Huchavirappa of Devanagore possess collections of MSS bearing on Vīraśaiva. Dalvoy Devaraj Urs, Mr. Namjaraja Bahadur and Lingaraja Urs all related to the royal family of Mysore have valuable collections of rare MSS.

Chapter V. Buddhist Libraries.

Education and educational institutions received a strong impetus during the Buddhistic age. The spread of the Buddha's Gospel in many foreign lands made India the place of pilgrimage to thousands of devout followers of the faith. The elaborate educational system, the high esteem in which scholars were held and the great honour shown to them even in far off lands enhanced the value of higher education. This in turn accelerated the rise of important universities and libraries. About the Buddhistic age, fortunately, we have plenty of information. Inscriptions and the writings of foreigners contain many details about the great educational centres of the time.

As stated in a previous section, writing was very popular in these times. Buddhist monks used to write religious and moral precepts on wooden boards for the benefit of their lay disciples. Important family affairs of wealthy individuals are said to have been recorded in books. Obviously these must have formed the nucleus of private collections in this age.

But the strength of Buddhism lay in its educational centres and libraries. Foreign travellers have left us elaborate descriptions of both kinds of institutions. As Goethe the famous German poet has said about the *Sākuntala*, one might remark "I say 'Nālanda' and everything is said" of the Buddhistic age. The site of this rendezvous of religious controversialists, the never-failing fountain from which Tibet, China and a great many countries of the far East imbibed a good deal of their civilisation and learning⁷⁷ is identified with Baragon about eight miles from Rajgir in Bihar. We may refer here to the fine description of Hiuen Tsang who says, "The richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets, like pointed hill-tops are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning) and the upper rooms tower above the clouds. From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the Sun and the Moon may be observed. How the deep and translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, inter-mingled with the Kanaka flower of deep red colour; and at intervals the *Amra* groves spread their shade over all. All the outside courts, in which are the priest's chambers are of four stages. The stages have dragoon-projections and coloured eaves; the pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, richly adorned balustrades and roofs covered with tiles that reflect light in a thousand shades— all these

⁷⁷ Samaddar— The Glories of Magadha p. 116.

things add to the beauty of the scene''.⁷⁸ This seat of learning was largely the result of royal patronage. The later Guptas like Śākṛāditya, Budha Gupta, and Bālāditya added to the buildings of the monastery besides making munificent donations for its maintenance.⁷⁹ In Hiue-Tsang's time a king endowed it with the revenue of a hundred villages. In Itsing's time the lands in possession of the university exceeded two hundred villages.⁸⁰ Thus the house-holders supplied several hundred piculs (1 picul equalled 138 $\frac{1}{8}$ lbs) of rice, seven hundred cutties (1 cutty equalled 160 lbs) of milk and butter day by day.⁸¹ Thus the monks were relieved of all anxiety regarding their material needs and the finance of the university. The curriculum of studies in this university included a large variety of subjects like Vēda, Hētuvidya, Śābdavidya, Chikitsā-vidya, Tantra, Sāmkhya, Vyākaraṇa etc.⁸² Tibetan sources tell us that this great university so firmly established, so beautifully built, and so famous for its educational excellence had a splendid library situated in the quarter known as 'Dharmaganja' (the piety mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnadadhi, and Ratnaranjaka all being associated with the three jewels of Buddhism - Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. Ratnadadhi was a nine-storied building in which were kept the sacred works, especially the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*.⁸³ Epigraphy and the account of foreigners tell us how this huge library was built and utilised. Itsingh stayed at Nālanda for a considerable time and collected some four hundred sanskrit texts. Hiuen Tsang carried home with him 650 MSS.⁸⁴ A copper plate discovered during the excavation of the ruins of this university mentions the grant in the time of Dēva-pāla the Pala king of Bengal, of some villages for the writing of the Dharmaratna or religious books besides⁸⁵ other works. It looks as though regular copyists were employed in the university for copying books. The expenses were borne out by those that required the copies. Besides these professional copyists there were other devout souls who made the copying of the sacred works part of their duty. The students also must have made their own copies. The magnitude of the Nālanda library implies that there were many well-versed teachers in charge of this library and their office must have involved considerable responsibility and tact. It is said that several thousands of monks lived in this monastery, and the copying

78. Ibid p. 120.

79. Beal- Records of the Western countries II p. 168. and Samaddar p. 134

80. Samaddar pp. 137—138.

81. Ibid.

82. A record of the Buddhist religion p. 177.

83. Jour Bud Text Soc VII pt. 4, pp. 18—21.

84. Smith-Early History of India. p. 325.

85. Ind. Ant. XXI, pp. 257—258.

activity of all these must have made numerous and very frequent additions to the library. A few of the MSS copied at this place have fortunately survived to the present day. In the 15th regnal year of Mahipāla the *Ashta sāhasrika prajña paramitā Sūtra* was copied and this MSS is now preserved in the library at Cambridge.⁸⁶ Another copy of the same work, made nine years earlier is to be found in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal⁸⁷

VIKRAMASILA:—The royal university of Vikramasila deserves our consideration after Nālanda. "If Nālanda fulfilled the dictum of Newman that a university is a place of learning implying the assemblage of strangers from various places in one spot, the royal university of Vikramasila satisfied the dictum of Carlyle that a true university is a collection of books."⁸⁸ Vikramasila was not only created by a king but had one for its chancellor bestowing titles on scholars. The Tibetan chronicles give us many details about this university. The site of this famous institution is identified with Patharaghat near Colgong and Bhagalpur.⁸⁹ The foundation of the monastery was first laid by Dharmapala in the 9th century.⁹⁰ It flourished for about four hundred years being under the management of a board of six presided over by the High priest and enjoying royal patronage. There were six colleges each with a staff of 108 teachers. The fortified enclosure was capable of holding 8000 people at one time. A splendid and well-equipped library formed an important adjunct to this university. It contained many rare works on Tantra, Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic for the teaching of which this university was famous.⁹¹ Here also pupils and teachers occupied themselves with the copying of MSS. One of them copied in the time of Gopala II is now to be found in the British Museum.

UDDANDAPURA:—Another important Buddhist university of North India about which we have definite information is that of Uddandapura or Odantapura. Tārānath the Tibetan historian ascribes the foundation of this university to Gopala the Pala king of Bengal.⁹² Epigraphic evidence shows that many kings of this dynasty evinced keen interest in this institution. Here also a well equipped library must have flourished till the close of the 12th century when the monastery fell a prey to the Mahomadans.

86. See Bendall's Catalogue

87. ,Proc. Asi. Soc. Ben. 1909 p. 69.

88. Samaddar p. 145.

89. J. A. S. B. V No. 1 p. 7.

90. Schiefner Taranath p. 220.

91. Samaddar p.p. 151, 512, 153,

92. Smith-Early Hist. Ind. p. 473.

Many more centres of education existed in North India during the Buddhistic age. Only their names are preserved for us in the writings of foreign travellers. Fahien mentions, among others, Udyāna, Purushapura, Mathura, Samkāśya, Kānyakubja, Śrāvastī, Sākēta, Ramagrama, Kapilavastu, Vaisakī, Pātaliputra, Rajagriha, Vāraṇasī, Gaya Champa and Tāmralipti. Hiuen Tsang saw Simhapura, Urusa, Kāsmira, Punacha, Rajapura Vrijji, Hiranyaparvata, Pundra, Vardhana Kāmarūpa, Samatata, Mankūyata Bharukaccha, Valla, Ujjayini and Mūlasthāna. In the time of Itsing Tamralipti Harika and Kusanagara were the other seats of learning⁹³ Obviously all the places contained good monasteries and educational institutions with libraries as their adjuncts.

DHĀNYAKAṬAKA:— As in North India famous centres of learning flourished in the Dekkan and South India also. Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka was the most noted of them all. It is identical with Dharanikota in the modern Kistna District. Of the once extensive university with hundreds of *stupa*s and colleges there now remain a number of mounds extending over a few furlongs. Many monasteries flourished here and Nāgārjuna, the founder of Mahāyāna, is said to have improved this place considerably. A part of this great saint's educational programme here as at Śrīsailam, then was the creation of a good library. It is likely, that this ancient Andhra university contained a good collection of books.⁹⁴

VĒNGI:— Next in importance was the Vihara of Vēngi, near Kollēru lake on the east coast. A beautiful monastery of five stories existed at this place probably along with a library. This was at one time under the care of Dinnāga.⁹⁵

ŚRĪŚAILAM:— This famous centre of Saivite pilgrimage in modern times was once a great Buddhistic centre with an extensive monastery. This place is associated with Nāgārjuna who is said to have built here a famous library, gathered monks from all places and taught them the sacred lore.⁹⁶

KĀNCĪ:— As at Dhānyakaṭaka both Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished at this famous South Indian centre of learning. From this place the monks left for Ceylon. In all probability many Hindu and Buddhist libraries existed here.⁹⁷

⁹³ For the lists of educational centres see my 'Bharatiya vidya charitamam' at p. 267 of the Bharati Vol. X August number.

⁹⁴ Ibid p. 270.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Such was the Buddhistic age. The doleful tale of the ruthless destruction of these splendid universities and their libraries by the Mahomadans may be briefly considered here. The year 1199 marks an important epoch in the history of medieval India. In that year Magadha fell into the hands of the Mahomadans.²² Both Tibetan and Muslim historians describe at length²³ the devastation of the Buddhist universities of Nalanda, Vikramasila, and Odantapuri. These institutions were, as we have stated before, well-fortified places. During the days of Khilji rule, the king of Magadha is said to have stationed garrisons in these universities. In 1199 Mahomad son of Bhaktiar invested these places one by one. Minhaz, a Muslim historian describes this event thus - "Mahomad threw himself at the postern - gateway and gained possession of the place. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmins with shaven heads. They were all slain. There were a great number of books which came under the observation of the Mussalmans. They summoned a number of Hindus that they might give them information respecting the import of these books, but all the Hindus had been killed. On becoming acquainted, it was found that the whole of the fortress and city was a college and in the Hindi tongue they called a college "Bihar." This passage from the *Tabakat-i-Naziri*²⁴ gives a typical description of the fate that befell the famous universities of Bihar. An attempt seems to have been made at Nalanda to restore the buildings and the educational activity but Taranath the Tibetan historian tells us that for a second time the place was destroyed by fire. Archaeological evidence confirms this version. Thus by the end of the 12th century the Buddhist universities and with them the famous libraries received a death-blow at the hands of the Mahomadans.

LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA.

Ch. VI. JAINA LIBRARIES.

Jainism like Buddhism was a protestant creed that arose in revolt against sacrificial Hinduism. Both the faiths were popular in character unlike the Vedic religion which was the monopoly of the intellectual aristocrat. Tradition has it that in the time of Chandragupta Maurya a large body of Jainas migrated

22. Samaddar p. 161.

23. Schiefner - Taranath p. 94.

24. p. 306.

to South India and settled down there.¹ Owing to the rapid progress of Buddhism and the subsequent revived activity of Hinduism in the North, the Dekkan and South India became the chief centres of the Jaina religion. Even to this day the followers of this faith are to be found in the west and south of the Dekkan in large numbers.

The Jainas like the Buddhists were zealous propagandists and great educators. It was through them that the Dekkan and South India imbibed the Northern culture. They it was that colonised numerous unexplored and unpopulated regions, brought vast tracts of land under cultivation and encouraged the local vernaculars, writing their religious works in them. There are many strong traditions in the Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese countries which describe this civilising activity of the Jainas. These people carried their Gods and their learning wherever they went. The Jainas were specially noted for their intellectual gifts. Many of their Acharyas were great scholars and had high sounding titles. The authorship of many Sanskrit, Tamil and Kanarese works is ascribed to these Jaina teachers and scholars. The late Mr. M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar has attributed no less than three Tamil didactic works, three of the major epics, and a dozen minor kavyas to the genius of the Jainas.² Dr. B. SeshagiriRao has shown that more than twenty-five Sanskrit and seventy Kannada Mss. now preserved in the Govt. Mss. library Madras, are of Jaina origin. They deal with a large variety of subjects like Agama, Purana, Philosophy, Kavya, Anthology, Rhetoric, Grammar, Logic, Ethics, Politics, Geography, Arithmetic, Music etc.³ The Silappadikaram and the Kural, two of the classical productions of the Sangam age, were the works of Jaina writers, while it may be said that almost all the Kanarese literature before the 12th century came from the pen of one Jaina scholar or the other. It is the opinion of eminent scholars that even the Telugu literature of Pre-Nannaya times owed not a little to the literary genius of the Jainas.⁴ Thus, these monks and learned men laid the foundations of the South Indian vernacular literatures.

The Jainas were also great builders. All over the country they set up numerous *bastis* and lofty temples wherein the Jinas were worshipped. As at *Sravanabelgola*, the famous seat of Gomatesvara to each of these Jain temples was attached a spacious monastery known as *Matha* or *Upasraya*.⁵ In these dwellings the ascetic

1. M. S. Ramaswami Iyengar—South Indian Jainism Ch. I.

2. Ibid Ch. VI

3. Dr. B. SeshagiriRao—Andhra-Karnata Jainism. P p. 94—98.

4. Ibid Pp. 100—129.

5. Cf. the modern *Upasrayas* in W. India.

monks lived, reading or copying their sacred books or translating them for the benefit of the populace. The liberal royal patronage extended to them during the early centuries of the Christian era in the Tamil country and later on in Andhra and Karnata gave a fresh stimulus to their scholarship. The monasteries were thus the home of learning and culture and numerous books pertaining to them. From surviving examples it is evident that each of these Upasrayas had an excellent library which was largely the result of the copying and collecting activity of the monks.

A pertinent question may here be raised as to where these Mathas did exist? We have already stated that where there was a Jaina Basti or temple, there was a monastery and that where there was a monastery, there was a library invariably attached to it. Evidences, both literary and inscriptional, mention many such places. Among the earliest Jaina settlements may be mentioned about a dozen villages in the Madura and Ramnad districts where Brahmi lithic records and ruins of buildings belonging to the Jainas have been discovered.⁶ During the early centuries of the Christian era Madura was the seat of a famous Jaina Samgam.⁷ The local records and the village Kaifiyats of the Mackenzie collection contain many allusions to the Jainas and their activity. Jaina antiquities have been found in all the Ceded districts and those on the East coast. I have seen many ruins in several places in the Nizam's Dominions. There is no doubt that these neglected and often misused heaps of stone and brick are the remains of what were once lofty edifices enshrining several Gods, books and monks of the Jainas. Epigraphy however gives us the names of many Jain temples which we have said invariably contained monasteries and libraries. Jinalayas of note existed at Penukonda, Amarapuram, Tamadahalli, Agali, Kotipi, and Tadpatri in the Anantapur district; Rayadurg, Kogili, Vijayanagara, Chippigiri, Nanyakallu, Kurugodu and Tumbalam in the Bellary district; Danavulapadu in the Cudapah district; Mudabidire, Venur, Barsur, Kotesvera, Karkala, and Kadaba in the South Kanara district; Lakkavarapu kota, Bhogapuram, and Ramateertham in the Vizag district; Vallimalai in North Arcot; Amaravati in Guntur; Kanupartipadu in Nellore; Bezvada and Caluchambarru in Krishna; Sravanbelgola in Mysore and Kollipaka, Gangapura etc, in the Nizam's Dominions.⁸ These few examples are enough proof of the great popularity that the Jaina faith and institutions enjoyed in ancient times. The 5th century in South India and the 11th

6. South Indian Jainism p. 34.

7. Ibid p. 52.

8. Andhra Karnata jainism p. 34.

in the Dekkan marked the beginning of the decline of the Jainas. The intervening period witnessed a Dekkan filled with numerous Jaina monasteries and libraries, educating and elevating the populace of the Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese countries and laying the foundations of the leading South Indian Vernacular literatures.

Unfortunately, we have no information regarding the nature and contents of the Jaina libraries of ancient times. But one redeemable feature is that a few Jaina collections of the middle ages have survived to our times, thanks to the heads of the modern Jaina Upasrayas. It is from these specimens of monastic libraries that we can form some idea, however imperfect, of the earlier types which were once very popular in India.

Western India :- In the medieval cities of Rajputana and Gujarat at Pathan, Jeasalmir, Surat, Cambay and Ahmedabad, one comes across a large number of Jaina Upasrayas to each of which is attached an important collection of religious and historical works. These collections are known as Bharati Bhandars "Treasures of wisdom". Of these Bhandars, those at Pathan, Ahmedabad, Wadhwan, Surat, Cambay, Tharad, Jesalmir and Bhatner are the most important. Several of them contain over 10000 manuscripts. Pathan, the ancient Anhilvadpatan, is still, as in the 11th and 12th centuries, the chief centre of Jainism in Gujarat. It is inhabited by a large number of Sramanas or lay disciples and contains over a dozen Upasrayas, some of them dating from the time of the ancient Chalukyan kings. All the libraries are under the control of the Nagar Seth, the Panch and the Sripuj or the head of the particular Agaccha or the community to which the Bhandar belongs. The books are carefully preserved in card-board boxes each containing 10 to 15 MSS. The Yates or monks frequently open them, air and dry them. To this day the MSS. are studied and copied with religious zeal. The most important collections at Pathan are the Hemchendra Bhandar which belongs to the Khartara gaccha and contains 40 boxes; the Bhandar of the Tapagaccha which consists of 80 boxes containing upwards of 1200 MSS, and the Sanghavinapadano Bhandar of three boxes with nearly 500 palm-leaf MSS, being complete collection of Jaina Scriptures, Bhashyas, Churnis, and Vrittis. Next in importance to the libraries of Pathan is the famous Bhandar under the temple of Parasanatha in Jesalmir. This library besides containing some rare Jaina works, has a large number of very ancient MSS, dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, of classical Sanskrit poems and Brahminical works. The MSS of the Vikra-

mankadevacharita of Bilhana and the poem of Upendrarashpalita were first discovered in the collection of this library.⁹

South India :- A number of Jaina Upasrayas and libraries are found in S. India also. The Jaina Bastis of Sramanbelgola in Mysore and Mudbidre in Kanara as well as the colossal Jaina statues at Karkala and Venur are some of the grand achievements of South Indian art. In an obscure place called Mudabidre near the West coast there is an ancient Jaina Matha which contains a very large MSS library. In it are found the only surviving single copies of valuable works. In the monastery at Sramanbelgol there is a large, valuable and well-preserved collection of MSS mostly on palm-leaves, in the Pali, Sanskrit, Kannada and Tamil languages. At Humcha in the Mysore state there is another collection of MSS.¹⁰

A consideration of the numerous Jaina antiquities scattered all over the country and the evidences of the existence of hundreds of temples and monasteries may naturally raise the question as to why so pitifully few Jaina collections have survived to our times? Both Buddhism and Jainism present a remarkable though tragic feature. The former has more or less vanished from the land of its origin while the latter is practically annihilated but for a few adherents in the West and South of India. This is the result of the proselytising nature of Brahminism on the one hand and its terrible reaction on the other. Jainism was stamped out of existence by the subsequent Saiva and Vaishnava religious persecutions. The Tamil Saiva saint Tirujnana sambandar initiated in the 5th century A. D. the ruthless crusade against the Jainas which lasted for the next two centuries and obliterated the faith from the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms. The Periyapuram and the frescos in the Madura temple reveal the endless miseries that the monks had suffered and the terrible destruction that befell their temples, monasteries and books.¹¹ The second wave of Jaina persecution started from the Andhra country in the 11th century under the lead of Raja Raja, the Eastern Chalukya prince.¹² But the greatest danger to Jainism came from the Vira Saivas under the lead of Basava and

9. This section is based upon Buhler's Rep. on the search for 8 Sans. MSS in Gough's Papers and sect. VIII on Mr. R. N. Ghosh's paper 'on Indian libraries in The Dawn Magazine vol. XII (old series) no. 5, p p. 77—79.

10. Ibid XIII, i p. 1—3.

11. South Ind. Jainism P p. 64—72,

12. Andhra-Karnata Jainism P p. 118—119.

his followers. These spared no pains in destroying the Jainas and considered it a pious duty to do so. Telugu and Kanarese literatures of the 12th and 13th centuries contain innumerable references to the cruel persecution of the Jains and the revengeful destruction of their buildings and books.¹³ Strong tradition connects the famous Telugu poet Tikkana and the later Kakatiya kings of Warangal with this movement. What little remained of Jaina culture and religion after this consistent and calculated annihilation, was swept off by Islam, the other agency of merciless and vindictive destruction in India, which descended upon the Dekkan after 1323 A. D. It is no wonder then that these successive waves of vindictive destruction have swept off numberless Jaina libraries throughout the length and breadth of the Dekkan and South India.

13. Cf. the *Basavapurāṇamu*, *Somadevarāṇeyamu*, *Pratapa-charitraṃ* etc.

THE MANDASA PLATES OF DHARMAKHEDI

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

These plates were first noticed in the Annual Report of the South India Epigraphy for 1917-18, P p. 138-39. The donor of the charter Ranaka Dharmakhedi of the Kadamba family was a feudatory of the Ganga king Anantavarmadeva. It makes the following remarks about the identification of the king and the interpretation of the date of the grant :-

"The king has the epithets Parama-maheswara, Parama-Bhattarakā and Paramesvara.....The record is dated in the Saka year 976 expressed by the chronogram Sakavda navasatakasaptarasa and the 15th year and has to be attributed to the Vajrahasta of this dynasty whose coronation took place in Saka year 960 (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 193). It has already been pointed out that Vajrahasta IV. (V ?) of this family, had the surname Anantavarman (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. page 95). The writing closely resembles that of a record of this king dated in Saka 967 (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. page 147). Like this it adopts mixed characters, though using more of Grantha letters in addition to Nagari and Telugu."

The charter with plates has since been published by Mr. G. Ramdas in the J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII. pp. 175-188, differing both in the identification of the king as well as in the interpretation of the date chronogram. He has advanced the following arguments for his views :- "ANANTAVARMADEVA was the sovereign king at the time of the charter and he was identified with ANANTAVARMA VAJRAHASTADEVA, Trikalīngadhipati of the Narasipatam, the Madras Museum and the Nadagam plates. The Chikkali and the Boddupadu plates are two other charters of the latter king recently discovered. All these five charters uniformly differ from the plates under review, not only in style but in composition of letters as well. The gotra and the genealogy of the family found in the five sets are conspicuous by omission in these Mandasa plates; above all, the king of these five charters was a Maharajadhiraja, and Trikalīngadhipati while the king of our plates was a simple Maharaja and did not possess the title Trikalīngadhipati, which title was much coveted by the Gangas of Kalinga in the east and the Kalachuri and Chedi kings on the west." (P p. 178-179).

In the first place, Mr. Ramdas has quoted wrong reference to the Narasipatam plates, which caused us unnecessary trouble. It does not appear from the transcript given by Mr. Ramdas himself that the king has anywhere been called 'a simple Maharaja.' It is true that the king has not been styled as 'Trikalīngadhipati,' but we find that he has been described as 'Sakala-Kalīngadhipati' (1.9).

Does it not convey the same sense? Are the Kalachuris and the Chedis two different tribes?

As regards the omission of the gotra and the genealogy of the king, Mr. Ramdas has failed to take into account one very important fact that the donor of the charter under review was not the king himself, but a feudatory of his. The poet-composer in this case must have been a different person, who was more concerned with giving the full titles of his employer than that of the latter's overlord. He has not, however, failed to note the essential point for a feudatory i. e. to acknowledge the suzerainty of his overlord. This has been done by styling him as "Paramesvara."

Mr. Ramadas has also found difference in style. He seems to think that the difference in style is due only to the difference in time. He has omitted to notice other factors, such as the different scribes, and different places of issue. In the present case both these factors are present. Again, are instances wanting that the same king issued charters at different dates, and from different places, in different styles?

Regarding the formation of letters, we do not know what appreciable difference there can be in an interval of (976-913) 63 years. According to the Report, the date of the grant is Saka 976, while Mr. Ramadas would interpret it to be Saka 913. We are not aware if palæography has become such an accurate science as to tell the difference of 63 years. If really there is any difference, it must be attributed to different hands and places of issue.

Let us now look into the arguments of Mr. Ramadas, in support of his identification, by an unusual interpretation of the date chronogram. He writes:-

"In spite of such differences the mistaken identification was caused by the mistaken interpretation of the passage intimating the Saka year. 'Sakabde nava-sataka sapta-rasa tama' (1-15) was understood to mean Saka 976 (1.34). In the expression mentioning the Saka years, the addition of 'sataka' to 'nava' clearly denotes that 9 was in the hundreds place; but no such index is attached to 'sapta'. Therefore, 'sapta-rasa' means 7 and 6 units, i. e. 13. So the date of the charter is Saka 913 clearly. If it had been intended to mean 76, the place value of sapta' would have been given. If the place value of 'nava' had not been given, the figures had to be read backwards." (p. 179).

There is no doubt that of the two different interpretations one at least is wrong. We are yet to see which is wrong. The exact wording of the chronogram in the transcript is - 'Sakabdanava-sataka sapta-rasa-mata'. Mr. Ramdas corrected Sakavda to Sakavde and mata to mate. He now reverts to 'tama' of the original, without giving any reasons for it. We think it should be 'mita.'

It is true that the ordinary rule, "*ankasya vamato gatih*" should not be followed in assigning place to *nava*, as it has been clearly indicated by *sataka*. The question is what should be done as regards *sapta* and *rasa*, whether to follow the order indicated by *nava-sataka* i. e. to give *sapta* tens place, and *rasa* to that of units, or the reverse order according to the ordinary rule. The former seems to be the order meant, as we shall see presently. But in either case there will be no difference in the identification of the king. For, both Saka 976 and 967 fall in the reign of Vajrahasta V. There is no authority or argument for taking both in units place and adding them, particularly when two places viz. places of units and tens are to be filled in.

Let us now look into the interpretation of the regnal year, *samastha padnara* 15, as given in lines 33-34. Mr. Ramdas elucidates:-

"In line 34, they are expressed by '*Samastha padnara* 15'. '*Samastha*' is an Uriya word to express the regnal years in documents." (p. 179).

In the transcript we find that the phrase actually used is *samasta padnara* 15. Mr. Ramadas corrected only *padnara* to *pandraro*. But now he reads '*Samastha padnara* 15.' He asserts that '*Samastha* system is similar to the Anka reckoning explained by Mr. M. Chakravarti in his article on the Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa.' (p. 180). In support of this he says that 'a large number of documents in the Ganjam District given in Rangachary's Topographical lists give the date in *Samastha* years. The Oriya inscriptions in Mukhalingam and Simhachalam temples also give the date in *Samastha* years.' (Note 7, p. 179). He does not, however, say that these *samastha* years have been verified and found to be in the Anka reckoning. We do not know anything about the inscriptions of the Simhachalam temples, but we find that Manmohan Chakravarti quoted about 35 dates from the Mukhalingam inscriptions (J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXII. Pt. I. pp. 97 ff.), but not in a single instance we could find the word *samastha* used. Mr. Ramdas has not cited a single case to show that the Anka reckoning was in vogue in the Ganga dates so early as Saka 913. Chakravarti did not notice it before Rajaraja II. (Ibid, p. 114). Rajaraja II. reigned from Saka 1092 to Saka 1112. In the absence of definite proof we are not prepared to accept Mr. Ramadas's interpretation of the word *samastha*.

Let us now see if we can offer a plausible explanation of the word. The word *samastha* approaches two words in Sanskrit, viz., *samasta* (whole) and *samapta* (completed). Practically they convey the same meaning. So '*samastha* 15' means completed or expired 15 years i. e. current 16th year. This explanation fits in

excellently in the present case. Anantavarma Vajrahasta, we know, was crowned in Saka 960. His sixteenth year, therefore, was running in Saka 976. Mr. Ramadas has taken regnal year 15 to be the regnal year of Dharmakhedi, but it is usual for a feudatory to observe the regnal year of his overlord. So this regnal year was the regnal year of king Anantavarma.

Mr. Ramdas identifies king Anantavarma of this charter with Kamarnava IV. Let us see how he has arrived at this conclusion. He says:-

"According to this Anka reckoning, *Samastha* 15 gives only 13 years of actual reign. The donor must have been crowned in Saka 901. This is 59 years prior to the Anantavarma Vajrahastadeva that was crowned in Saka 960. The king that was ruling over Kalinga 59 years prior to the donor of the Nadagam plates was Kamarnava IV. According to the Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarma Choda Gangadeva, Kamarnava IV. appears to have reigned from Saka 895 to Saka 915; but according to the Nadagam plates he reigned from Saka 888 to Saka 915. In both, the final year is the same." (p. 180).

We find that there are three Vizagapatam charters of Anantavarma Choda-Ganga, namely, of the Saka years 1003, 1040 and 1057. Mr. Ramdas does not say to which of these Vizagapatam charters he refers. The genealogy and the reign periods given in the first and the third are the same and agree with the Nadagam plates. So he must have referred to the grant of the Saka year 1040, which is somewhat different from the other two. The interval between the first year of Anantavarma Choda-Ganga and the last year of Kamarnava IV. according to both, is $98\frac{1}{2}$ years. Even taking the reign periods to be Anka years, which they are not, the interval is 79 years. So Kamarnava IV. could not have ruled 59 years before Anantavarma Choda Ganga. It is beyond our comprehension by what mathematical feat Mr. Ramdas has arrived at his figures.

The king of our charter is Anantavarmadeva, but no evidence is forthcoming that Kamarnava IV. was ever called Anantavarmadeva. Mr. Ramdas with a view to cover this defect has made a great 'discovery.' He says that Kolahala became the first Anantavarma. Trikalingadhipati Vajrahasta was Anantavarma, his grandson Choda Ganga was Anantavarma, and Rajaraja, his father was called Devendravarma. From this data he has concluded that all Ganga kings from Kolahala downwards assumed alternately the 'imperial titles' of Anantavarma and Devendravarma. In this way Kamarnava IV. was an Anantavarma (pp. 180-181). No comment is necessary on this astounding discovery.

Yet another discovery is in store for us. Mr. Ramdas writes:-

"The inscription gives two other titles of the king, Paramabhattacharaka and Paramamahesvara. These are the two titles which are not found in the charters of the earlier Ganga kings but are found in the grants of Vajrahasta V, and Choda Ganga. Perhaps these titles were assumed when sway over a greater country had been secured. (p. 181).

We are at a loss to understand what connection there is between 'sway over a greater country' and the titles of Paramabhattacharaka and Paramamahesvara.

Mr. Ramdas has found fault with Kielhorn for identifying Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakinidi plates with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. He says:-

"The Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakinidi plates was neither a Trikalingadhipati, a Paramesvara nor a Paramabhattacharaka, yet Dr. Keilhorn identified him with the Vajrahasta of the Nadagam plates. In this connection it may be mentioned that such mistakes are unavoidable when the identification is entirely based on synchronism" (p. 181).

Firstly, it is not Keilhorn but Kielhorn, secondly, it is not a fact that Vajrahastadeva of the Parlakinidi plates was not a Paramesvara. The king has been described as 'Gang-amala-kula-tilaka maharajadhiraja-paramesvara-sri-Vajrahasta-deva' (E. I. Vol. III p. 223, ll. 8-9). Thirdly, Mr. Ramdas here again forgets that the donor of the charter is not the king himself but a feudatory of his. Fourthly, Kielhorn did not base his identification entirely on synchronism but on palaeography. He says:-"This inscription contains no date, but it would in my opinion, on mere palaeographical grounds, have to be assigned to about the 11th century A. D." (E. I. Vol. III. p. 222)

These are not all. In order to support his wrong interpretation and doubly wrong identification he has to make another curious assumption. He says:-'Ugrakhedi of the Kadamba family mentioned in the Parlakinidi plates must be an ancestor of Dharmakhedi of our plates. Bhamakhedi was the father of the donor of these Mandasa plates; Ugrakhedi must have been at least the father of this Bhamakhedi who was only a village Palaka.' (p. 182) We wonder how could Mr. Ramdas make such an unauthorised assumption in the face of the Simhapura plates (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III. p. 179) of the Gangoya era 520=Saka 938, where Niyarnava is plainly stated to be the father, of Bhamakhedi or Bhimakhedi. Again in the abstract of contents (p. 187). he has made Ranaka Dharmakhedi, the son of Ugrakhedi, instead of Bhamakhedi!! In line 19 of these plates he has distinctly been stated to be 'Ranaka Sri-Bhamakhedisya sutah' i. e. son of Ranaka Bhamakhedi.

COPPER-PLATE OF RAGHUNADH JAGADEV I OF KADAMBA DYNASTY - TEKKALI.

BY

Sri Sri Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev Raja Bahadur,
Puratatvavisarad, Vidyavachaspathi, Rajah Sahob of Tekkali.

Narasimha Khedi of Kadamba dynasty came to Tekkali from the South in 1422 A. D. while this Kingdom was full of forests. But the coastal strip was under the rulers of Utkala whose (Deputy Governor) Regent and Commander lived with some army in a fort (now called old Tekkali) which was called then Tekkali. The remains of that fort and the cantonment (now known as Dandugudi) are still to be seen. Acknowledging the supremacy of the ruler of Utkal, conquering the woodland parts of Tekkali (now called Old Tekkali) which were not under the rulers of Utkal by worshipping Ramachandi, the family goddess of Tekkali Kingdom, he built a fort by name Tekkali patna in the dense wooded country and dwelt there. As a new fort and town were built there, the fort at Tekkali under the rulers of Utkal was termed as Old Tekkali or Purana Tekkali. To the worshipper (who belonged to the Savara tribe) of the said Ramachandi, Raghunath Jagadev I, the 16th ruler of the Tekkali Kadamba Dynasty had gifted some land in Tekkali patna, the copper-plate grant of which was granted by Raghunath Jagadev in 1691 A. D. in Chintamani fort. That Rajah ruled from 1691 A. D to 1719 A. D. The Copper-plate grant is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Five lines on the first side and five lines on the second side was inscribed in the Telugu language. At the bottom of the inscription on the second side is found the sign of signature in Oriya of the grantor Raghunath Jagadev. The plate was not spoiled any where. In several places there is resemblance between the present writing and the writings and language of the inscription. The contraction of words is to be seen in this plate in many places e.g. రోబ్బ is written instead of రోజన, నాల్గ is written instead of నాల్గన, బొల్లి is written instead of బొల్లిడు. Nowadays such contraction of letters is still in usage in the Telugu language. So it can be said that as the grantee of the gift was a Telugu knowing man, the gift deed was written in the Telugu language. In the plate "Jagadev" "Pujari" "Khaspa" "Ghenano" etc., which are Oriya words, have been used. The text of the plate is given below.

Front side.

1. పవనామసంవృత్సర జెష్ఠ శు ౫ రొబ్బ
2. శ్రీరఘనాథజగద్దేవు మహారాజు
3. లుంగారు పూజారి ఫఖరుకు వ్రా
4. యిచ్చి యిచ్చిన మాన్యంపట్ట మాటెక్కలి
5. పట్నం ఖసపాచా|| నీకుగ ర నాల్గరి

Back side.

1. శైలభూమిమాన్యం యివ్వనాయెగనక
2. విరివిగా ఫలపరుచుకొని నీపుత్రపౌ
3. త్రపారంపర్యంతం అనుభవిస్తూవుండిరి,
4. యీమాన్యానకు గరిశ రూపాయిలు
5. శిషుపొలయి ఘెన్నాణంమాపు.

The translation of the inscription :-In 1691 A. D. Plava year on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Jyashta month Sri Raghunath Jagadeb Maharaja gave this grant deed to Pujari Fakeer. In the khaspa of Tekkalipatna, a land yielding four garce of staple produce has been given to you as an inam which you will enjoy through ages by cultivating in proper manner. The assessment etc. shall not be charged.

SAMBOPAKHYANAMU AND THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY.

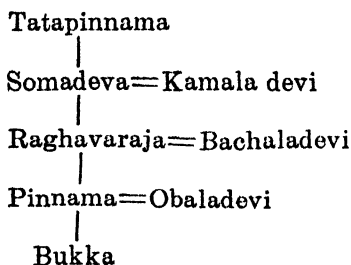
BY

K. RAGHAVACHARI M. A. B. L.

The Telugu work Sambopakhyanam by Ramaraju Rangapparaju, a descendant of Araviti Bukkaraya has been recently published by the Andhra Sahitya Parishat, Cocanada and it is intended to deal in this article with the historical value of the work.

1. The most valuable material which the book supplies us is the Genealogy of the Aravidu family from Ramaraja, the son of Bukkaraya. As regards this, the other Vernacular Sources, Vasucharitra, Kavyalankara Sangraha, Kalapoorodaya, Sudakshinaparinaya and Narapativijaya are equally important.

Leaving aside times of hoary antiquity and the claims of the Aravidu family to have descended from Nanda, Chalukyaraja and Bijjala, the four immediate ancestors of Bukka were

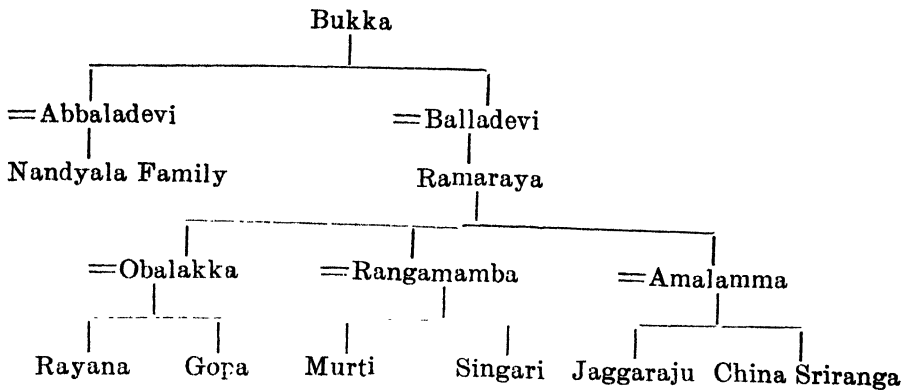


The family has been associated with Aravidu only from Pinnamaraja. Sambopakhyanam is silent regarding the ancestors of Bukka.

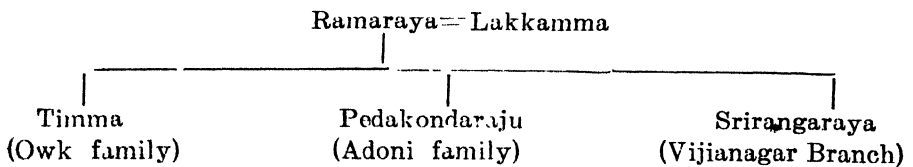
2. Bukkaraya had two wives one Abbala devi and the other Balladevi. Through the first wife he had three sons of whom the eldest Singaraya became the ancestor of the Nandyala family. The detailed genealogy of this family can be gleaned from the Kalapoorodaya of Pingali Surana dedicated to one Nandyala Kristnamraju.

Of the second wife Balladevi or Ballambika was born Ramaraja. The Vasucharitra (1-30) informs us that he was ruling in Kandanolu (Kurnool). He had four wives Obalakka, Lakkamma, Rangamamba and Amalamma.

By Obalakka, Ramaraya had two sons Rayanaraja and Goparaja. By Rangamamba he had two sons Murtiraja and Singariraja and by Amalamma, Jaggaraju and China Sirangaraju.



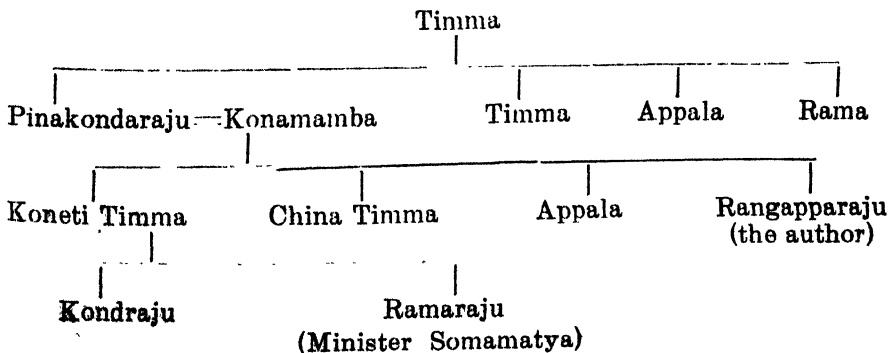
3. The descendants through Lakkamma are important for our purpose. By her, Ramaraja had three sons, Timmaraja, Kondaraja (Pedakondaraju and Srirangaraya).



The Narapativijayamu of Andugula Venkayya informs us that Timmaraju was ruling over the Owk principality and his family became the family of Owk chiefs but does not continue it beyond Timmaraju. The writer of the present work and another Ramaraja whose minister Somamatya was the patron of Annaya, the author of Sudakshinaparinaya, were descendants in this line.

The genealogy of the Owk family would not be out of place here.

(a) Timmaraju through his first wife (whose name is not known owing to lacunae in the text) had four sons



(b) By the second wife Lakshamma, he had two sons Peda Timmala and China Timmala.

(c) By the Third wife Gopamamba, he had four sons, Nalla Timma, Vittala, China Thimma and Papa Timma.

Nalla Timma otherwise called China Timma was the patron of Konakavi who dedicated his Dwipada Bala Bhagavatamu to him and at his request Padya Bala Bhagavatamu to his father Timmaraja. From Sewell's Antiquities Vol II. P. 209, we learn that after Timmaraja, the Owk kingdom was ruled by Nalla Timma and his descendants.

(d) By the fourth wife Tirumalamba, he had three sons Timma, Kona and Singaraju.

4. **The Adoni family** :-Kondraju alias Pedakondraju, the second son of Ramaraja by Lakkamma ruled in Adavani (Adoni). He had two wives one Kondamamba by whom he had four sons Konetiraju, Peda Timma, China Timma and Ramaraju and the other Srirangamma by whom he had two sons Obala and Venkatapathi.

5. The Vijianagar Branch.

The third son by Lakkama was Srirangaraya, the father of the famous Sree Rama, Tirumala and Venkata. He was ruling in Kandanolu (Kurnool) the family seat (Ref. E. R. 156 of 1905).

He had five sons by Timmamba (not three) Kona, Timma, Rama, Tirumala, and Venkata. The first two are known to us only by name. The Ramabhudaya of Ramabhadrakavi however mentions only the last three comparing them to the Trimurtis and three sacred fires.

The third son Ramaraya, otherwise known as Aliya Ramaraya being the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya is described in four verses (Ver. 33-36 of canto I) He is described as కర్ణాటకేశ్వరస్థనిర్వహణావార్యభూజాధ్వజాయుధ పరీవారుండు and సర్వ-చిన్మయైకపకంఠారుణాంబుహవిశ్వుర్యతర్పితాసీశిఖ. The description is significant. Father Heras in his work on the Aravidu Dynasty laid stress on two points (a). The regent of Venkata I, son of Achyutaraya was Salakam Peda Timmaraju (b) He committed suicide in the palace when Ramaraju marched against him with an army from Penugonda. Both these points have been discussed and controverted by Mr. Ch. Virabhadrarao in his recent work on Aliyaramaraya. Our book, Sambopakhyanamu supports his views on both the points. Ramaraya killed Salakam China Timmaraju and established Sadasivaraya on the throne of Vijianagar.

6. Tirumalaraya, the brother of Ramaraya, is described as నల్ల తిమ్మరాజు, the red Timma of Gutti. The epithet *red* might have been used in contra-distinction to Nalla Timma, his cousin and son of Timmaraju or to his own elder brother Timma. The Kavyalankara Sangraha also refers to him as నల్ల తిమ్మ or the red Timma. This is not of much importance but Tirumala is spoken as belonging to Gutti. Ramaraja was still alive and the battle of Rakhas-Tagdi did not take place. The work is thus long prior to the Vasucharitra wherein Tirumala is said to have succeeded Ramaraya and resuscitated the చీరకనాట Empire. The composition of the work would thus be between A. D. 1542, the year of Sadasiva's accession to the throne and A. D. 1565, the year of the famous battle. The question then arises as to why Tirumalaraya should be described as belonging to Gutti. During Sadasiva's time, we know that Tirumala was for a time the governor of Udayagiri (1543-1551 A. D), then the ruler of Kocharalakota-sima and lastly of Kondavidu at about 1558 A. D. During the last Governorship at Kondavidu, he was frequently in the capital as minister. The Swaramelakalanidhi of Ramaya-amatya tells us that as soon as Salakam China Timmaraju became the regent of Venkata I, the brothers retreated to Gutti but the Vasucharitra and the Annals of Hande Anantapuram tell us that the retreat was to Penugonda and Adoni.

సీ. పట్టాభిషేక విపర్యయంబునఁ బోలు వెడలి
ప్రియానుజులైంటఁ గొలువఁ
జిత్రకూటాభిష్యుఁ జెలగు పెన్గొండ సాంద్ర
హరిద్విపేంద్ర నాదవని జేరి.

(Vasucharitra)

The Narapativijaya at this stage tells us that Ramaraya organised his troops and captured the fortresses at Gutti, Penugonda, Adoni, Gandikota and Kandanolu. He then rescued Sadasiva who was imprisoned in Gutti and proceeded to the capital to defeat Salakam China Timmaraju. It is not possible to decide when Tirumala and his family settled in Gutti and left Kandanolu, their family seat from the time of Ramaraya their grandfather. It is earnestly hoped that further light would be thrown upon this matter by Epigraphical or other evidence.

6. The Vernacular Sources give us some interesting information about the family of the three brothers. They had three sisters,

i. Obamamba married into the Gobburi family to one Gobburi Timmaraja, father of Narsaraju, the patron of Ayyalaraju Ramabhadrakavi (Vide Ramabhyudayamu, verses 48 & 80).

ii. Lakkamma, the mother of Ahobala Narasaraju, the patron of Narasabhupaliyamu (canto 1-89).

iii. Gonamma, the mother of Timmaraju, patron of Paramayogivilāsamu.

It is thus clear that the Sambopakhyānamu gives us the most detailed genealogy of the Aravidu family excluding the Nandyala Branch and the genealogy so given agrees with the partial genealogies given in the other Vernacular Sources.

FOURTEEN PERSIAN FIRMAN'S OF THE PERIOD 1172-1179 A. H. (1760-67 A. D.)*

R. SUBBA RAO, M. A. L. T., M. A. U. S.

Honorary Life Member, A. H. R. Society and Corresponding Member,
Indian Historical Records Commission.

Several original letters under the caption "*Correspondence between the Hon'ble E.I.Co. and the Kandregula Family*" were published already by me in this journal (Vol IV). They throw much new light on the revenue administration of the Northern Circars during the latter half of the 18th century. The *Firmans* published below give some more interesting details. Particularly, Firman No. I, dated 1172 A. H (A. D. 1760) and issued by Mons. Bussy, mentions the names of several revenue officials of the times and the methods by which they were collecting the various dues. The percentages of *Rusums* on the jamabandi, on the cargo of ships, on inam land, on salt land, on cocoanut groves as well as the *Rahdari* duties on opium, jaggery, grain and other articles besides Savarams and Inams etc are all noted in great detail.†

These Firmans show how the several Zamindars in the Northern Circars (Vizianagar, Peddapur, Korukonda, Etc.) were required by the first Nizam, Asafjah Nizam Ali Khan, to restore to the Kandregula Chiefs all the rusums, inams, rent villages, gardens, etc., appertaining to their offices of Muzumdar and Sur Sheristadar, in their respective Estates. This was in consequence of their services rendered to the Nizam as well as to the Hon'ble E. I. Co.

In 1778, when these offices were abolished, the rusums and lands were restored to the several Zamindars and the Kandregula Chiefs were compensated by being given 10,000 Pagodas a year.

*I have great pleasure in acknowledging the kind help I got from my learned friend, Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, B. A. Director, Daftar E. Devani, Mal and Mulki Etc, of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad who translated and transliterated these Persian Firmans for me. I must also thank Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadha Rao Bahadur, the former President of this Society, for placing in my hand these original letters which belong to his illustrious family.

†*Rusum* (fee) at 1 Pagoda (Rs 4) per cent on *jamabundy* (Net receipts)
Inam (gift) at 1 or 1½ candy or Putty (8 acres) of ground in each village.
Rent at 40 Pagodas per year per big village.
Garden with 200 cocoanut or Beetlenut trees.
Savaram 30 sandies or 60 Veesums of land for each big village.

I

Copy of the Parwana,¹ issued under the seal of 'Umdatul-Mulk,
Ghazanfar Jang, Monsieur Bussy Bahadur².

Dated 7th., Rabi-us-Sani 1172 A. H.

Let it be known to the clerks who deal with the present and the future important matters of the State, and to the desmukhs³ and the despondias⁴, and the majmuadars⁵ and the peasants and the kulkarnis⁶ of Rajmandary Sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Duniyad Subah, that Barmaji Kishnu having inherited the hereditary office of despondia of the said sarkar, and appendage of desmukhi and majmuadari, from his fore-fathers and was in possession of it in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, the subedhars and the past officials, while Sundrappa having usurped this inheritance under false pretences and having drawn up a fraudulent and false attestation of a multitude in favour of his claim to despondiagiri had consequently secured a sanad from His Highness under the Royal Seal and accordingly has been enjoying the usual benefits of this grant and its appendages for the last two years, whereas on subsequent enquiry and verification of the Sanads Sundrappa's claims having proved invalid, now the said Barmaji Kishnu is entrusted, according to the established custom in the past, with the office of despondia, and entitled to receive rusum⁷ and the benefits of the appurtenances of the grant as detailed below; and it is hereby ordered that the said Barmaji should be considered for all times the permanent desmukh, despondia and majmuadar of the said Sarkar, and the duties pertaining to the office should be made over to him, and he should be authorised to endorse the receipts of revenue and other papers, according to the established practice, it being incumbent on him to devote his full attention to the duties and requirements of his hereditary office, and after utilizing the rusum and inams for his own purposes according to the custom, be zealous in serving the State and wishing it always well.

The orders passed therein are:-

Barmaji Kishnu having inherited the office of despondia of the said sarkar, and appendage of desmukhi and majmuadari from his forefathers was in possession of it in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, the subedhars and past officials. In the meantime Sundrappa having prepared a fraudulent attesta-

1 Firman or order. 2. French officer at the court of the Nizam who became supreme over N. Circars from 1754-59. 3. Chiefs or heads of groups of villages to collect revenue and to look after police duties. 4. Head Karnams to look after accounts and to help the despondiahs. 5. Revenue collectors and administrators having under their control several desmukhs. 6. Hereditary Village-Karnams or accountants. 7. Customary fee for a person holding hereditary office.

tion of a multitude in favour of his claims to desbandiagiri and after securing a sanad⁸ from His Highness under the Royal Seal held the said post nearly for two years. But, as a result of an enquiry and verification of sanads the rights of Barmaji Kishnu to succeed the said office has been established; hence, the rusum, inams and appurtenance of desbandiagiri in the parganas,⁹ salt-mahals and ships in the ports and sayir¹⁰ and the khata¹¹ and the rahdari¹² etc., should in accordance with the established practice and custom, be assigned to Barmaji Kishnu desmukh, desbandia and majmuadar in compliance with the orders passed on the margin of the petition presented by him.

"Let the Sanad be given." Orders passed under the Royal Sign Manual.

The petition runs as follows :-

That to Barmaji Kishnu belonged the hereditary office of desmukh, desbandia and majmuadar which he has inherited from his forefathers and held in accordance with the sanads of the Kings of Deccan, and the past officials, and that Sundrappa having prepared a fraudulent attestation in his own favour to prove his right to succeed to the hereditary office of desbandiagiri, had secured a sanad of His Highness under the Royal Seal and was enjoying the full benefits of this grant and its appurtenances. On enquiry and verification of sanads the claim of Barmahaji Kishnu have been established, therefore, Sundrappa had been removed and the said hereditary post together with its villages assigned to Barmahaji Kishnu in accordance with the established custom. As regards the sanads, it is submitted for orders. The following sanads have been perused:-

Sanad relating to the appointment of hereditary post of desbandiagiri under the seal of Abul Hasan, Qutubul-Mulk.

Sanad under the seal of Abdul-Hasan for issuing the rusum of desmukhi, desbandiagiri and majmuadari.

Sanad under the seal of Asad Khan, Umdatul-Mulk

Sanad under the seal of Ruhulla Khan, Bakshiul Mulk.

"	"	Basharat Khan Diwan.
"	"	Jansipar Khan.
"	"	Yusuf Khan.
"	"	H. Mubariz Khan.
"	"	Rustum Dil Khan.

8. Charter or order. 9. Divisions or Taluqs, 10. Tax on forest produce.

11. Dues for measuring grain, etc, 12. Dues for using king's High-ways.

**MEMORIAL OF THE MUSLIM ECCLESIASTS.
OFFICIALS.**

Ali Mardan Khan	Mohamed Sayeed Khan Bahadur
Mustafa Quli Khan	Hafizuddin Khan Bahadur
Mir Qaiama	Syed Lashkar Khan
Dilawar Khan	Rustam Khan Bahadur
Zabit Beg Khan	Anwaruddin Khan Bahadur
Abid Khan	Ali Quli Khan
Izzat Beg Khan	Mir Umer Quli Khan
Khwaja Abdulla Khan	Mir Muhamad Khalil Khan
Khwaja Abul Wafa Khan	Khwaja Nimatulla Khan
Faizulla Beg Khan	Muhamad Muin Khan

Parwana-i-Takid issued under the seal of Nawab Asaf Jah Bahadur.

Percentage of rusum on
the Jamabandi 1 Hun.¹³

Inam land per village
 $\frac{1}{2}$ katti.

Percentage on the cargo
of ships 1 Hun.

Mahalat.....?

As detailed below :-

Inam from salt revenue

16.....?

Rusum on sale

1 anna per rupee.

The Rahdari duties :-

Cocoanut Groves :-

Opium etc.,
2 annas per rupee.

From the land adjoining to Anthervedi
village, Tatiaka paragana. One Qita.

Jaggery etc.,
1 anna per rupee.

From the land adjoining to Sanker,
Kisaptam village, Two Mahal par-
gana. One Qita.

Hirur village One Qita.

Grain
1 anna per rupee.

From the land adjoining to Momar-
varam village. One Qita.

From the land adjoining to Malla-
varam village Pargana. One Qita.

From the land adjoining to Momar,
Varapyad village. One Qita.

II

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Masan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

Let it be known to the present and future naibs¹⁴ and the desmukhs and the despendias and the mukhadams¹⁵ and peasants and

13. Ponnū or gold coin equal to Pagoda or Rs 4. 14. assistants or deputies.

15. local authorities.

the kulkarnis of the Nanduz pargana, Mustafanagar¹⁶ sarkar, that the village of Pinidmukla situated in the same pargana, assessed at twenty-five Huns per year as agarhar,¹⁷ has been granted as a madadmaash (subsistence allowance) to Kandrikal Jogi Pāndit, Kamoji Pandit and Tirpati Dobhasi¹⁸ from the beginning of the year 1172 fasli, and therefore the said village should be left in their possession (they paying their fixed assessment yearly to the Government) so that they may utilize the yearly surpluses for their own maintenance, and pray day and night for the perpetual prosperity of the State. Let these instructions be carried out exactly as stated above. From one village 25 Huns.
Dated 6th., Zinqada 1175 A. H. Signed:-

III

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

To, Exalted Narsi Raj, Zamindar, Korkunda pargana,
Rajahmundry Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs¹⁹ of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, Majmuadar and Sar-sarrishtadar²⁰ of the said sarkar, be entrusted with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax and sayir etc., in your estate, and let a record of this be maintained, and let the rusum and the inam granted to the latter continue according to the sanad. In this connection bear in mind to follow the above instructions strictly.
Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed:-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

IV

Bearing the Seal of Qutubud-Dawlah,
Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang.

To, Dearly valued Raja Narasi Raj Bahadur,
Desmukh, Ellore Sarkar.

Let the rusum and the lawazimat-i-chauth²¹ pertaining to Hirur,²² Rajahmundry sarkar, granted to Raja Sri Nawas Rao, Majmuadar and Sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be delivered according to the sanads to the latter, and the land measuring 10 khandi²³ which apart from the sanads, appears to have been granted by you to him by a sanad, continue in the future.

16. Kondapalli. 17. A rent-free or low-rent grant of land presented to a Brahmin. 18. one who is learned in two or more languages. 19. clerks. 20. one who enjoys Merassy rights such as profits like rusums, rent villages, gardens, inama, etc. 21. land-tax equal to one-fourth of the gross produce. 22. Perur. 23. Putti (8 acres)

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed :-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani²⁴ on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.²⁵

V

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah,
Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang.

To, The valiant and brave Rajah Sri Nawas Rao,
Majmuadar, Sar-sarrishtadar, Rajmandary Sarkar.

Your gumashtahs should draw up all the receipts and the idemnity-bonds against the promises given, and also the acceptances of the securities for assessments on zamindars and taluqdars of the Rajmandary sarkar, and they should be given strict instructions in this connection.

Dated 19th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed :-
Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani, on 19th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

VI

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur,
Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven
Thrones. (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badsah-i-Ghazi.

To, The Symbol of Loftiness and valour, dearly-valued Raja
Mohpat Rao, Zamindar of the Bhalwar and Nardaz parganas,
Rajmandary Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs of Rajah Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted in the estate belonging to your exalted self, with the work of collecting revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., and let a record be maintained in this regard; and the rusum of salt and sohaga (borax) etc., and the inam land according to sandas, continue as such. Let this be strictly enforced.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H. Signed :-
Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

VII

To, The Symbol of loftiness and bravery, dearly valued Raja
Bheem Raj, zamindar of the Mudapur Taluq,²⁶ Rajmandary Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar be entrusted with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., in the estate belonging to your exalted self and let a record be maintained in this regard,

24. Records office. 25. 1766-67 A. D. 26. Bhimavaram Taluq.

and the Katal-kur village, the mokasa²⁷ of which has been granted to the latter be released, and the land measuring sixteen khandi from the village of Malumal in the Aithakhota pargana,²⁸ granted as inam, continue also in the future, and the two mango-orchards in Charikuntawala be also assigned to the men belonging to Raja Sri Nawas Rao. Let this be understood as the most strict instructions in this connection.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H.

Signed :-

Copy received in the Daftar-i-Diwani on 17th, Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H.^{28-a}

VIII

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

To, The valiant, Reddy Lachmi Narayan Deo, Zamindar of the Kokunda & Kurkund parganas,²⁹ Rajmandry Sarkar.

Let the gumashtahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted with the work in your estate and let an office record be kept, and the rusum and the inam also continue in accordance with the sanad. In this connection bear in mind to follow the above instructions strictly.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H.

Signed :-

IX

To, The valiant and dauntless, Jogi Jagannatha Rao Pandit.

The petition forwarded has been perused along with the details of the arriving at Cinaptan³⁰ and Masulipatam, the presenting of the Robes of Honour and Letters to the Commander and communicating verbal commands of His Highness and informing him of conferring many honours on him in the future, which was all well and good. Now it is incumbent on you to warm yourself into the real affairs of the sar-sarrishtadari, Rajmandary sarkar, and inform His Highness of the exact happenings there without any act of omission and commission on your part, and be ever zealous in serving the interests of the State. There is nothing more to add in this connection.

X

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR Badshah-i-Ghazi.

27. A village or land assigned to an individual at free-rent or low-rent in return for services. 28. Ithakota in Rajole Taluq. 28(a) All the letters that follow bear the same date. 29. Korukonda, 12 miles off Rajahmundry. 30. Madras.

To, Dearly valued Kakarlapudi, Raja Ramchander Raj, zamindar of two Mahals.³¹

Land measuring fifteen khandi rent-free, from the adjoining area of the Tatpudi³² village etc., belonging to you has been granted to Kandrikal Jogi Pandit, majmuadar of Rajmandary. Let the said land from the adjoining villages, mentioned below, after being surveyed and demarcated, be assigned to the latter for his own use, so that he may utilize the income year after year for his maintenance, and pray day and night for the well-being and prosperity of the State, and be ever ready and zealous in discharging duties of his office. Let these instructions be carried out exactly as directed above.

15 KHANDI RENT-FREE LAND.

From the village as mentioned above 2 Khandi.	From Pankero Ramwaram 3 Khandi.
From Erawah ^{32(a)} 5 Khandi.	From Kotalkor & Pedapur 2 Khandi.
From Choduwaram 3 Khandi.	

XI

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones. (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badsah-i-Ghazi.

Written to the Elect of the Age, Barmaji Kishnu, Sundrappa and Ramji Bahamanu.

Whether the gumasta of Rajah Srinawas Rao, majmuadar and sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar ask for the bhagota³³ for five years or ten years, it should be granted to him in accordance with the office records and without any objection whatever. In this connection, the above instructions should be strictly carried out.

Dated 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A. H.

Sign Manual.

XII

Bearing the seal of Qazi Abdul Hamid Khan, the servant of the holy Mohummadan Law.

The copy of parwana issued under the seal of Nāwab Nizamud-Dawlah Bahadur, Chief Commander, and also under the seal of Samsamud-Dawlah Bahadur, Mir Abdul Hai Khan, Samsam Jang, the Royal Minister-in-Chief.

31. These correspond to modern Peddapuram Taluq. 32. A village in Razole Taluq, 20 miles off Rajamundry. 32(a) Virava, a village in Peddapur Taluq. 33. lease (?)

Let it be known to the Jagirdars³⁴ and the Kroris³⁵ of two Mahal pargana etc., Rajmandary sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Bunyad Subah, that 37 Khandi rent-free land from the said pargana etc., from the estate belonging to Kakarlamudi Ramchander etc., has been granted as inam according to the details mentioned herein, to Kandrikal Jogi Jagannath, sar-sarrishtadar and majmuadar of the Rajmandary sarkar, and that the said land, should, after being surveyed and properly demarcated, be assigned to the latter for his own use.

Dated.....The current year.

Orders passed under the Royal Sign Manual.

"Let the abstract be prepared" Draft Abstract.

Thirty seven khandi rent-free land in Two Mahal pargana etc., from the estate of Kakarlamudi Ramchander etc., Rajmandary sarkar, Hyderabad Farkunda Bunyad Subah, has, according to the signed sheet on whose margin orders have been passed, been granted as inam to Kandrikal Jogi Jagannath, sar-sarrishtadar and majmuadar of the said sarkar. "Let the sanad be given."

Orders issued under the Sign Manual of the Most Gracious and Exalted, the World Renowned, Ruknus-Saltanath, Faithful Ally, Asif Jah,³⁶ Nizamul Mulk, Nizamud-Dawlah, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh Jang, Commander-in-Chief.

The signed papers, dated 25th., Sahwal 5 are included in detail in the sanad of sar-sarrishtadari and majmuadari of Rajmandary Sarkar. 37 Khandi.

From Two Mahal pargana in the said sarkar pertaining to taluqa Kakarlamudi Ramchander adjoining to Tatpudi etc.	From the said pargana belonging to Venkatapati Raj, Zamindar.
15 Khandi (as detailed below)	12 Khandi. (as detailed below)

From above-mentioned 2 Khandi	.....3 Khandi.
From Mundwarendam 3 Khandi	From Linkuwaram ³⁸ 2 Khandi
From Hurwaram ³⁷ 3 Khandi.	From Bandar 2 Khandi.
From Bosturwandi 2 Khandi	From Kura 1 Khandi.
From Yerwa 5 Khandi.	From Alwar 2 Khandi.
From Nahnapur pargana in the said sarkar adjoining to Ahan-talur 5 Khandi. (as below)	From Janada 2 Khandi.
From above-mentioned 2 Khandi	From Kurkunda pargana 5 Khandi,

34. Persons who hold a grant of land in return for military or other service and exercise all the rights of the ruler within their jurisdiction. They resemble the Mansabdars. 35. Collectors of a crore of Dams, equal to 2½ Lakhs of Rupees. 36. He was the first Nizam of Hyderabad who was originally the Prime Minister of Delhi and who became independent Ruler in the South, (1724-48). 37. Peravaram, 6 miles to the south of Rajamundry. 38. Same as Lakkavaram in Ellore Taluq.

XIII

To, The benevolent, kind, and gracious Khan Sahib. (May you live long.)

After expressing (what in reality is) my indescribable yearning to meet your revered self, I disclose it to your friendly eye that some of the Government servants are delaying and evading the payment of the monthly instalment of the money due, and as the Company always demands despatch in these matters, its needs being ever extremely urgent, and your kind self being obliged to accompany the Commander of Chinapatan in four or five days' time in connection with some urgent matters, in these circumstances, (I inform you beforehand) lest it happen that owing to the delay in the payment of the said money, the Ruler may become displeased, and, on account of receiving a reminder, send some one to collect the dues in your place. Therefore, explicit instructions should be given to the servants of your exalted self to collect the monthly instalment of the said money and remit it through Kishtamma Pandit so that it may soon be received and forwarded with haste to the Company's treasury.

Hope that you will continue to favour me with the news of your health and welfare till this separation comes to an end. May the days of your contentment and happiness last for ever.

XIV

Bearing the seal of Qutubud-Dawlah, Hasan Ali Khan Bahadur, Intizam Jang, Devoted servant of the conqueror of the Seven Thrones, (World Conqueror) ALAMGIR, Badshah-i-Ghazi.

To, Dearly valued Raja Ramchander Raj and Venkat Bansi Raj, zamindar of two Mahals.

Let the gumastahs of Raja Sri Nawas Rao, majmudar, sar-sarrishtadar of the said sarkar, be entrusted in the estate belonging to your exalted self, with the work of collecting land revenue, salt tax, sayir etc., and let an office record be maintained; and let the Kalucharla³⁹ village which is situated in the said pargana and granted to the latter according to the sanad, as a bil-maqta,⁴⁰ continue also. Let the above be understood as strict instructions in this connection.

Date 17th., Rabiul-Awwal 1179 A.H.

Signed :-

39. A village 6 miles to the east of Rajamundry. 40. It means Tirwai or cash commutement of the Government share of produce on dry land. Here it means *pay-rent* or *low-rent* village.

WARSAW CONFERENCE.

To

The Secretary, The Andhra Historical Research Society,
Rajahmundry.

Sir,

The Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, which I had the honour to attend as a Delegate of your Society, was held at Warsaw, the Capital of Poland, from the 21st to the 28th of August 1933. Above six hundred scholars from practically all over the world gathered at Warsaw to discuss the most diverse historical topics, to study the most varied historical problems, to communicate to each other their successes in researches, their hopes for the future, their enthusiasm and their optimism. Naturally Poland gave the largest contingent of scholars, but Italy was the first of the foreign nations in sending a representative delegation to the Congress. Ninety four Italians were present. When I boarded the International Express "Rome-Warsaw" in Vienna in the evening of the 19th, I found that all my fellow-travellers and all those who were filling up the coach were Italians. When we entered the Polish frontier on the following morning, the Custom authorities had no work in examining our luggage. At the magic phrase : "*Nous Sommes Congressistes*" that unpleasant affair was at once eliminated. There were also numerous delegations from France, from England and from America; from the East we were four; two delegates from Egypt and two from India, the writer of these lines and one of his old students, Mr. H. V. Nunes, M.A.

The meetings and the sections of the Congress were held according to detailed programme without any hitch or difficulty, thanks to the marvellous organization of the able secretary, Dr. Thaddeus Manteuffel and a band of University students of both sexes, his helpers. There were twenty-eight sections dealing with as many historical aspects under which the 452 papers or communications sent to the Congress were grouped. There was a section on Oriental History to which most of the contributions sent from India were allotted.

It was a pity that only two delegates from India had been able to attend the Congress. India arouses a tremendous amount of enthusiasm and curiosity among the Polish people. We had to pose several times in the streets of Warsaw at the request of students and press reporters, and on the last day of the Congress we had the satisfaction of seeing our portraits sold in all the corners of the city, and printed in two of the most popular papers of the capital. We were proud of being introduced to Mrs. Helena Willman-Grabowska,

a Polish lady who is teaching Sanskrit in the University of Crakow, and who read a paper on the *Political Ideas of Asoka's time*, being a short commentary on Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. We had also great pleasure in meeting Miss Iva Grueber, a young girl who is studying Sanskrit in the University of Lwow, and who reads Hindustani, as a result of her private study during her leisure hours. Another girl, a student of the University of Warsaw, has formed a study circle among her fellow students in order to study the history of India and her present political and social problems.

The papers submitted to the Congress which dealt with Indian Subjects were the following:-

T. K. Joseph (Trivandrum):	<i>The Saint Thomas Traditions of South India.</i>
Helena Willman-Grabowska (Crakow):	<i>The idea of state in Ancient India.</i>
William Coelho (Bombay):	<i>Greek Influence on the Coast of Karnataka.</i>
Hasmukh Sankalia (Bombay):	<i>Mahayana Buddhism in the Bombay Presidency.</i>
Edward A. Pires (Bombay):	<i>Who were the Rulers of Pataliputra before the Guptas?</i>
Henry Heras, S. J. (Bombay):	<i>The Pallava Monarchs—founders of the Religious Architecture in the Tamil Country.</i>
A. Appadoria (Madras):	<i>Irrigation in South India in the Middle Ages.</i>
Alfred Martineau (Paris):	<i>Parallelism between Dupleix and de Bussy.</i>
George M. Moraes (Bombay):	<i>Christian Leaning of the Mughal Prince Dar Shukoh.</i>
T. K. Shahani (Bhavnagar):	<i>Edmund Burke on the British Imperialism in India.</i>
Medwige Nunes (Bombay):	<i>Jesuit Sources of Indian History.</i>
R. Subba Row (Rajahmundry):	<i>The Administrative History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga in the 11th Century A. D.</i>
H. N. Sinha (Nagpur):	<i>Indo-Aryan and Indo-Islamic Polity.</i>
D. F. Colao (Bombay):	<i>Culture and Art at the Court of the Maharatta Rajas of Tanjore.</i>
Adrian Duarte (Karachi):	<i>Piracy in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb.</i>
S. Krishna Swami Iyengar (Madras)	<i>The Value of Tradition in Indian Historical Research.</i>

The two Indian delegates were invited together with all the British subjects to some refreshments at the British Embassy on August 25th, and were kindly entertained by Mr. Gordon G. M. Vereker, Charge d' Affairs, in the absence of the Ambassador.

Finally, I am glad to inform you that after talking with the President and Secretary of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, I have great hopes that soon we shall be able to found a Committee of Oriental History under the auspices of the International Committee.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
(Sd) H. Heras.

St. Xavier's College,
Bombay, 1st December 1933.

**Proceedings of the Annual General Body Meeting held
on 13-4-34 in the Hindu Samaj Hall, Rajamundry.**

Present.

1. Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao Pantulu garu B. A. B. L.
2. N. Kameswara Rao garu B. A., B. L.
3. R. Subba Rao garu M. A., L. T.,
4. R. Subba Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
5. M. Suryanarayana garu B. A., B. L.,
6. K. Raghavacharyulu garu M. A., B. L.,
7. B. V. Krishna Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
8. Vepa Sri Ram garu B. A., L. T.,
9. C. Atmaram garu B. A., B. L.,
10. P. Kameswara Rao garu B. A., B. L.,
11. M. Subrahmanyam garu B. A., L. T.,
12. V. Apparao garu B. A., B. L.,
13. D. Ch. Kameswara Rao garu.
14. Neti Venkataramayya garu B. A., B. L.
15. M. Rama^r Rao garu M. A., B. ED.,
16. Rajah Kandregula Jagannadh Gopala Rao garu B. A.,
17. T. Venkataratnam garu M. A., L. T.,
18. S. Kameswara Rao garu M. A., L. T.,
19. D. Venkata Rao garu M. A., L. T.,

I The Joint Honorary Secretary Mr. V. Apparao read the Annual report.

- (1) A note about the Decennial celebrations should be added here.
- (2) The resolution No. 4 A of the M. C. M. dated 14-3-34 may be incorporated in the Annual report under the caption
"The History of the Andhra Desa".

With the above modifications, the annual report is adopted having been duly proposed by Mr. K. Raghavachary and seconded by Mr. B. V. K. Rao.

II The report of the Honorary Treasurer is duly proposed by Mr. B. V. K. Rao and seconded by Mr. M. Suryanarayana and passed:-

III The Honorary Librarian has not placed the report prepared by him in the meeting of the M. C. for its approval for want of time; but the majority of the General Body having voted in favor of allowing the Librarian to read his report, he is allowed to read the same. The report read by Mr. B. V. K. Rao is referred to the M. C.

- IV The amendment proposed by Mr. B. V. K. Rao regarding the single secretary resolution instead of two, is put to vote and lost.
- V The Editors of the periodical works till they are published and the Editors of the Society's Journal shall be co-opted members of the Managing Council.
- VI The following are elected as Office-bearers for the year 1934-1935.

Messers :

- (1) Rao Saheb A. Rama Rao President.
- (2) N. Kameswara Rao Vice-President,
- (3) M. Rama Rao and C. Atmaram ... Joint-Secretaries.
- (4) P. Kameswararao Treasurer.
- (5) D. Venkatarao Librarian and Curator.

Members of the Council :-

Messers.

- (6) Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu
- (7) M. Subrahmanyam
- (8) R. Subbarao
- (9) Sri Rajah K. S. Jagannadharao Bahadur.

- VII Resolved to thank the Office-bearers of the previous year for the arduous services rendered by them to the Society.

(Sd). A. RAMARAO
President.

The Thirteenth Annual Report for 1933-'34.

The Secretary, Mr. V. Apparao B. A., B. L. read the following report.

The Managing Council has great pleasure in presenting the following report of the Society's work for the year 1933-34.

At the last Annual general body meeting held on 13-4-33, the following office-bearers were elected.

Messrs :

R. K. S. Jaganadharao Bahadur	...	President.
Rao Saheb A. Ramarao B. A. B. L.	...	Vice-President.
V. Apparao B. A. B. L.	...	Secretary.
N. Kameswararao B. A. B. L.	...	Treasurer.
M. Ramarao M. A., B. E D	...	Librarian.
Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu Naidu	}	Members of the Managing Committee.
R. Subbarao M. A., L. T.,		
C. Atmaram B. A., B. L.		
B. V. Krishnarao B. A., B. L.		

In accordance with the resolution passed in the General Body meeting held on 13-4-33 and confirmed in that dated 27-8-33 that there shall be two joint Secretaries for the Society, Mr. C. Atmaram was elected as the joint Secretary, by the general Body on 27-8-33. Mr. M. Ramarao resigned his Librarianship on 4-10-33 and Mr. B. V. Krishnarao was elected in his place by the Managing committee and in place of Mr. B. V. Krishnarao Mr. D. Venkatarao M. A., L. T., was elected to the Managing, council.

Hon. Offices.

The general Body at its meeting held on 13-4-33 elected the following gentlemen for the Honorary offices noted against their names.

Messrs.

J. Ramayya Pantulu B. A., B. L.	}	Hon. Presidents.
Sir A. P. Patro. Kt. B. A., B. L.		
Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu B. A.	}	Hon. Vice-Presidents.
K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu		
S. Narasimha Rao B. A. (cantab) L. L. B.		

Hon. Life Members.

During the year under review, Mr. R. Subba Rao M. A., L. T., and Dr. C. Narayana Rao M. A. P. H. D. L. T. were elected by the M. C. on 29-4-33 as Hon. Life members of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao paid the subscription prescribed for Life membership and was also made an Hon. Member for life in recognition of the services

rendered by him to the Society. Dr. Narayanarao presented to the Society six sets of copper-plate grants of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, which form a valuable acquisition to the Society's Museum.

Ordinary Members.

The number of ordinary members on the rolls during the year was 167. This shows a decrease of 7 in the number. In this connection we record with sorrow the demise of Dewan Bahadur C. Venkatachalam Pantulu who was one of our oldest members and who took a keen interest in the Society's work.

Subscribers.

The number of subscribers on the rolls is 44 showing an increase of two over the figure for the previous year.

Exchanges.

Our list of exchanges was considerably improved during the year owing to the addition of valuable Journals like those of the U. P. Research Society, the Annamalai University, the Karnatak Historical Research Society and the Publications of the Mysore Oriental Library, the Central Jaina Publishing House, the Varendra Research Society and the Indian Historical Research Institute.

The Journal.

Mr. N. Kameswara Rao B. A. B. L. continued as Editor for Vol VIII. of the Journal. During the year under review Part 4 of Vol VII, and Parts 1, 2 & 3 of Vol VIII, containing altogether about 300 pages, were published. Parts 2 & 3 of Vol VIII were issued together as the Decennial Commemoration Volume. We are behind time by one part and it is hoped we will make up the delay soon.

The Kakatiya Sanchika.

The progress of the Kakatiya Sanchika has not been as expeditious as it ought to have been. During the period under review, only 80 pages of the Text and 80 pages of the Appendix were printed.

The Library.

Owing to the activities of the joint Secretaries, many valuable additions were made to the Library during the year under review. The Mysore Durbar have been pleased to present the Society with all the available Volumes of the Epigraphia Carnatica and thanks are due to the enlightened Government of H. H. the Maharaja. Mr. S. Narasimha Rao B. A. (Cantab) LL. B. has kindly made a further present of 30 valuable books on Indian History, Literature and Art and the society's sincere thanks are due to him. It is hoped that others will soon emulate his example. Two more almyras, one for the Library and the other for preserving the Museum Materials were purchased from the Municipal grant of Rs. 100.

Our thanks are due to Mr. M. Ramarao, who was Librarian till October 1933, for his services to the Society in bringing out a Catalogue of Books, Journals and Museum articles. The Library and Museum continued to be in the spacious buildings of the Theosophical Lodge to whose President and members, the Society's thanks are due.

The Museum

The Museum also received many important and valuable additions. Mr. R. Subbarao M. A. L. T., our Ex-Secretary, has secured for the Museum six sets of C. P. charters of the E. Ganges of Kalinga from Dr. C. Narayana Rao M. A., P. H. D., L. T. Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu B. A., B. L., our ex-President, has kindly presented to the Museum about Four hundred impressions of stone and copper plate inscriptions and other transcripts etc. Vidwan K. Appanna Sastry, one of our corresponding members, has sent a few valuable impressions of stone inscriptions in the Nizam's Dominions. The Society thanks all these Donors and requests others to help the Museum likewise.

Curator.

By a resolution the M. C. decided that there shall be a curator for the Society's Museum. Mr. M. Ramarao the then Librarian was elected to this office also and was followed by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. It is desirable that, in future too, the offices of Librarian and Curator should be combined in the same person.

Finance.

The total receipts during the year were Rs. 2300 including the Municipal and Government grants. The munificent donation of Rs. 500 by the Maharaja Sahab of Jeypore, one of our Patrons was of invaluable help. We appeal in this connection to our other Patrons also for similar help. The income from the Journal is Rs. 850 and from the Telugu publications Rs. 60.

Meetings.

There were in all 15 meetings of the Managing council. There was a half yearly General body meeting in which certain rules of the Society were amended. Three important Public meetings were held under the auspices of the Society. At the first meeting held under the presidency of Rao Sahab G. V. Ramamurthi Pantulu Garu, Prof. K. Suryanarayana delivered an interesting Lecture on "Dravidian Pronouns." In December 1933, the Society presented an address to Rao Sahab Ramamurthi Pantulu Garu, on the occasion of his 70th Birthday. At a Public meeting held on 7-4-34 under the Presidency of Mr. Ch. Virabhadrarao, Messrs. B. V. Krishna Rao B. A., B. L., R. Subba Rao M. A., L. T., and M. Rama Rao M. A. B. ED. read interesting papers on "the so-called Conjeevaram inscription of Raja Raja I", "The Ganga Era", and "The Salankayanas" respectively.

Other Activities.

Rev. H. Heras, a member of our Society was deputed to the International Historical congress at Warsaw and he sent us a report of the Session. Messrs. R. Subbarao and M. Ramarao represented our Society at the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda during December 1933. We are glad to learn that Mr. M. Rama Rao the Editor of our *Kakatiya Sanchika* has been invited by the Maharani Saheba of Gadwal to write a history of the Gadwal Samasthanam.

Decennial Celebration.

In accordance with a resolution of the Managing Council dated 25-12-32, the Decennial celebration of the Society was held on the 14th and 15th April 1932 in the local Government Training College Hall under the Presidency of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Retired Professor of Indian History & Archæology in the University of Madras. There was also an Exhibition of rare and valuable Historical material. Several scholars from all over India have sent valuable papers to be read at the meeting. These and a Report of the celebrations have been published in vol. VIII-pts. 2 & 3 of the Journal, the combined issue being named the Decennial Commemoration volume. The Society's thanks are due in this connection to Messrs. R. Subbarao and M. Rama Rao who have been largely responsible for the success of the Celebration.

History of the Andhradesa.

It was resolved at a meeting of the Managing Council on 14-3-34 to publish a "History of Andhradesa" under the auspices of the Society, written by experts in various fields of the history. Invitations were accordingly sent to scholars both in Andhradesa and outside to attend a meeting convened for the purpose on 7-4-34. Many scholars sent in response messages of good wishes and useful suggestions regarding the working out of the scheme. Messrs. C. Virabhadra Rao, K. Raghavachary, K. Isvara Dutt, V. Appa Rao, B. V. Krishna Rao, R. Subba Rao, M. Rama Rao and V. Niladri Raju assembled on 8-4-34 in the house of Mr. V. Apparao and held a preliminary discussion about the work to be done. In the end, Messrs. R. Subba Rao and B. V. Krishna Rao, were requested to prepare a draft scheme of the work under contemplation. Their report is awaited.

Conclusion.

The Society thanks once again the Maharaja Sahab of Jeypore for his timely help, Messrs. J. Ramayya Pantulu and S. Narasimha Rao for their presents to the Museum and Library, the Government and the Municipality for their pecuniary grants to the Library and Mr. P. Kameswara Rao B. A., B. L. for kindly auditing the accounts of the Society during the year. We appeal to our patrons to continue their munificence to the Society and to other wealthy individuals and the public of the Andhradesa to patronise and help the Society, which is the only institution of its kind in our country.

Treasurer's Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for 1933-34.

<u>Receipts.</u>	<u>Rs. As. P.</u>	<u>Payments.</u>	<u>Rs. As.P.</u>
To Opening cash Balances:-		By Establishment charges	
On hand	1-10-6	Salary to peon	120-3-2
In Bank	2- 5-2	Lighting	24-0-0
Subscriptions, donations and sale			
proceeds of Literature	1,469-15-0	Travelling expenses	10-4-0
Fees for Life membership			
(part payment)	25- 0-0	Expenditure on Literature:-	
Grants in aid:-Rajahmundry		Paper, printing & binding	
Municipal Council	100- 0-0	charges	1006-14-3
Amounts advanced:-		Blocks & photos	51- 6-0
By Treasurer	315- 0-0	Postage etc.	120- 4-0
By Hon-Secretary	180- 0-0	Railway freight	10-11-0
Interest	0- 4-4	Stationery	1- 3-0
		Advance repaid:-	
		Treasurer	315- 0-0
		Hon-Secretary	187- 2-0
		Permanent advance to	
		Secretary	12- 8-0
		Decennial Celebration	51- 5-0
		Discount paid	
		(less receipts)	8- 2-3
		Purchase of books	26-15-0
		Furniture	100- 0-0
		Miscellaneous expenses	8-10-3
		Closing cash balances:-	
		On hand	12- 1-0
		In Bank	27- 9-6
Total Rs.	<u>2,094-3-0</u>	Total Rs.	<u>2,094-3-0</u>

Audit Report.

We have examined the above Receipts and Payments and Accounts with the books and vouchers of the Society and are of the opinion that the same is properly drawn up so as to show a correct account of the Receipts and Payments of the Society during the official year 1933-1934.

(Sd) V. B. R. Sharma
14-7-34

For Sarma & Co.,
Registered Accountants.

Library Report for 1933-34.

Changes.

Mr. M. Ramarao M. A. B. Ed. continued to be the Librarian and curator of the Museum till 4-10-33 when he resigned the office owing to his departure to Gadwal. The Managing Council elected Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, in his place. The administration of the Library continued as before and it was kept open along with the Reading Room daily between 4-30 and 7 P. M.

Accommodation.

The Library and the Reading Room continued to be in the healthy and spacious Theosophical Lodge, to whose authorities the thanks of the Society are due for their continued hospitality and kindness. Owing to the rapid increase of books and journals that were being added to the Library from time to time, the lack of proper accommodation was keenly felt. One more almyrah was purchased to accommodate these new additions. Similarly, a specially constructed almyrah was also acquired and the Museum articles were kept in it. The necessity for these two almyrahs was pointed out in last year's report by the then Librarian Mr. Ramarao.

Additions.

There has been a considerable increase in the number of books and journals received this year. The total number at the end of the official year stands at 1360 as against 1058 of the previous year, showing that 302 books and journals were received during the year. Most of them are Journals received in exchange for the Society's Journal. Among the additions to the Library during the year, are the Travancore Archaeological Series, the monograph of the Varendra Research Society, the Epigraphia Carnatica, Sacred Books of the Jainas Series and the Ep. Indica. The Society's thanks are due to Messrs. S. Narasimharao Bar-at-law, Rao Saheb P. Ranganayakulu Naidu, M. R. Chari, N. Subbarao Pantulu and T. Venkataratnam who have generously donated books and Journals to the Library.

Catalogue.

The printing of the catalogue containing the lists of Books, Journals and Museum articles in the Library and Museum of the Society, which was being done towards the close of the previous official year, was since completed by Mr. M. Ramarao and published on 20-7-1933.

Reading Room.

The number of visitors to the Library and Reading-Room has gone down due to their distance from the town; but we hope that the public will soon get used to it.

Museum.

The Society's sincere thanks are due to Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu B. A., B. L. who has presented to the Society's Museum 15 Estampages of stone inscriptions, 50 impressions of copperplate grants and 270 transcripts of stone inscriptions. They are a real asset to the Society's Museum. We appeal to all Andhra scholars to make such donations to the Museum.

Suggestions.

Now that the Library and the Museum are rapidly developing, the need for a paid Library clerk is being felt. More than 800 books and Journals have been received in the Library since the publication of the catalogue. The gift of Mr. J. Ramiah Pantulu has considerably increased the number of Museum articles also. A supplemental catalogue containing all these subsequent additions, is urgently wanted.

Checking.

As per resolution of the M. C. a special committee checked the Library and submitted a report in accordance with which several books outstanding on loans were subsequently recovered.

M. RAMARAO,
Ex-Librarian.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Managing Council Meeting
held on 14-3-34.

* * * * *

(4) Resolved

- (a) To send out invitations to Research Scholars in Andhra desa and to select scholars outside for the Annual General Body meeting in order to concert measures to bring out "a History of the Andhras under the auspices of the Society."
- (b) To request Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu garu to preside over the annual public meeting and to bear his travelling expenses.
- (c) To request Mr. P. Kameswararao B. A. B. L. to audit the accounts of the Society.
- (d) To appoint a committee consisting of Messrs. B. V. Krishnarao and the Secretaries to fix the agenda of the public meeting.

Subscriptions received during the Quarter ending with 31-3-34.

1. Life Members.

	Rs A.P.
Mr. Subbarao Rallabandi (part payment)	<u>25-0-0</u>

2. Ordinary Members.

<i>Messrs.</i>	<i>Rs. A. Ps.</i>	<i>Messrs.</i>	<i>Rs. A. P.</i>
Somasundara Desikar	3 8 0	Atchuta Rao T.	2 0 0
Thakkar T. R.	3 8 0	Sambasiva Rao M.	4 0 0
Kameswararao D. Ch.	5 0 0	Krishnamurti M.	1 0 0
Venkataramaniah P.	4 0 0	Prakasam B.	2 0 0
Ramarao A. Rao Saheb	4 0 0	Ramarao M.	1 8 0
Atmaram C.	4 0 0	Hanumantarao S.	3 8 0
Raghavachari K.	4 0 0	Unni Nayar S. K.	4 0 0
Kameswararao Sripada	4 0 0		
Total Rs.			<u><u>50 0 0</u></u>

(3) Subscribers.

The Noble college, Masulipatam	...	...	6 8 0
The Nagapur University	...	..	6 8 0
Messrs Arthur Probsthain, London	..	...	17 14 0
Hindustani Academy, Allahabad	..	...	6 8 0
Total Rs.			<u><u>37 6 0</u></u>

(4) Donations.

The Municipal council, Rajahmundry	...	100 0 0
Mr. Mutyala Venkata Krishniah, Secundrabad (Rs. 50 Hali)	43 6 9	
Total Rs.		<u><u>143 6 9</u></u>
Total for the Quarter Rs.		<u><u>255 12 9</u></u>

N. KAMESWARA RAO, B. A. B. L.,
Treasurer.

